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LORD LYTTELTON's

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS.

VOL. I.

GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON.

From a Painting by M.r West in the Posession of the Bishop of Bristol.

THE WORKS OF GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON;

FORMERLY PRINTED SEPARATELY:
AND NOW FIRST COLLECTED TOGETHER,

WITH

SOME OTHER PIECES NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

PUBLISHED BY

GEORGE EDWARD AYSCOUGH, Esq.

THE THIRD EDITION:
TO WHICH IS ADDED A GENERAL INDEX.
IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS,

LORD LYTTELTON,

BARON OF FRANKLEY, &c.

MY LORD,

IT is to your goodneſs, and to that friendſhip with which you have long honoured me, that I owe ſeveral of the following papers, the works of your late excellent father, and my much reſpected uncle; and I now

take the liberty in this publick manner to make you my moſt grateful acknowledgements.

When your lordſhip was ſo kind as to beſtow on me ſeveral of the new pieces, you were pleaſed to leave it to my diſcretion to ſelect thoſe which I thought moſt proper for publication. I have therefore ventured, on my own feeble judgement, to give the greater part of them to the world, for the following reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe I eſteem it an injury done to this country, and to the many admirers of your noble father, to keep papers written by his lordſhip, and preſerved by him at any period of his life, locked up in private cabinets.

Secondly, Becauſe every line of theſe tracts conveys the moſt uſeful inſtructions and admonitions to mankind, and are calculated to aid the great

great cauſes of publick and private virtue.

If it ſhould be aſked, Why I choſe to publiſh the juvenile letters of his lordſhip, written during his travels through France and Italy? Perhaps it would be ſufficient to anſwer, Becauſe they are replete with profitable and entertaining accounts of the political tranſactions of thoſe times, together with the moſt ſenſible and pertinent remarks on the ſtate of Europe at that period. But I ſhall further add, that I have ſtronger and more weighty reaſons for their publication, not only becauſe they are the produce of the beſt of *heads*, but becauſe they are effuſions from the beſt of *hearts*; and becauſe they are the early and wonderful proofs of his generoſity, piety, and above all his filial reverence; and may be juſtly deemed the firſt ebullitions of virtues, which, being afterwards matured by age and experience, extended their

beneficent influence over mankind in general, and were more immediately felt by the inhabitants of this free country.

I muſt now beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that it is my deſire that this work may not only give ſatisfaction to the publick, but alſo be honoured with your lordſhip's particular approbation. I am proud to confeſs that I have ever had the higheſt veneration for your refined taſte, ſound judgement, and ripened abilities; and, at the ſame time, permit me to add my moſt ardent wiſhes that theſe great talents, which are certainly equal to thoſe your father poſſeſſed, may, like his, be exerted with indefatigable zeal in the ſervice of your country; and that, like him, your lordſhip may hereafter prove a ſhining ornament of the ſenate, and one of the firmeſt pillars of the conſtitution.—*Sed quid verbis opus eſt?* Your lordſhip has already foreſtalled my hopes; and my

wiſhes,

wiſhes, even at this early period, are nearly accompliſhed.

I remain,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Much obliged and

Moſt affectionate friend,

and

Obedient, humble ſervant,

GEORGE EDWARD AYSCOUGH.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE LIFE

OF

CICERO.

Μεῖζα μέντοι θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιλιγόμενον αἰδεῖσθε. ἃ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτουσι, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα. ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

ARTHUR ONSLOW,

SPEAKER

OF THE

HOUSE of COMMONS.

SIR,

THE honour I do myſelf of addreſſing theſe remarks to you, is a proof how confident I am in the partiality of your friendſhip: if they have any other claim to your regard, it is only from a ſpirit of liberty, which, wherever it appears, is always ſure of your favour and protection. The ſubject of them, which is the Life of CICERO, muſt be doubly intereſting to you, as he was the moſt excellent Orator of all antiquity, and bore the

moſt eminent character in the Roman Senate, while it remained free, and was worthy of that name.

I am, with the moſt perfect reſpect, and higheſt ſenſe of your favours to me,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

and moſt obedient

humble Servant,

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LIFE OF CICERO.

AMONG all the celebrated characters in the Roman Hiſtory, there are none more worthy our attention, than thoſe great men who were at the head of the Republick when ſhe was arrived at her higheſt degree of power and glory, and by a natural conſequence of exceſſive proſperity was fallen into thoſe vices and corruptions, which ſoon after produced a change of government, and brought her into an infamous ſlavery. This revolution was either haſtened or delayed, according as they who had the management of affairs were more or leſs infected with the general depravity: ſome there were who preſerved themſelves quite untainted; who gallantly ſtood in the breach, and ſtruggled hard for liberty. Such were Marcus Cato, Quintus Hortenſius, Quintus Catulus, and Marcus Brutus; whoſe virtues were the more valuable to their country, becauſe they were exerted at a juncture when ſhe found herſelf moſt in need

of their aſſiſtance: with theſe Cicero has generally been placed, and if we may take his own word, Rome had not a more unſpotted patriot to boaſt of than himſelf: but I doubt, when we look ſtrictly into his conduct, we ſhall often find it very different from theirs who really deſerve that name; and it will appear even from the teſtimony of his own letters, in which he ſpoke more naturally and with leſs vanity than he does in his orations, that his publick character was far from being perfect; that he acted upon many occaſions more like an ambitious orator than a philoſophical republican; that his virtues were blended with many weakneſſes and pernicious failings; and that, notwithſtanding his exalted notions of integrity, he ſometimes yielded to the corruption of the age, and ſacrificed the welfare of his country to his private intereſts and paſſions. What makes him the leſs excuſable is, that none ever underſtood the rules of virtue or ſaw the beauty of it more than he: his writings are the nobleſt leſſons of publick honeſty, diſintereſtedneſs, and the love of liberty, that are to be found in all antiquity: and it is the excellent and almoſt divine ſpirit which appears in thoſe books, that has made the majority of readers conclude the author of them to have been in his own practice, what he takes ſo much pains to recommend, and inculcates with ſuch force of eloquence. And, to do him right, in many parts of his adminiſtration he was the patriot he deſcribes: the Common-

Commonwealth had great obligations to him; no leſs than its preſervation at one criſis: but there wanted a ſteadineſs and uniformity in his conduct, which alone could entitle him to the reputation he was ſo deſirous of obtaining, and that has been given him rather by the partiality of learned men, than from the ſuffrage of hiſtorical juſtice.

I ſhall endeavour in the following obſervations to ſet his actions in their proper light, and, without aggravating or ſoftening any thing, conſider them as they were directed to the advantage or prejudice of his country; in doing which, I ſhall dwell only upon ſuch circumſtances as are important to his character, paſſing by a great number of other facts which have no relation to my deſign.

The firſt cauſe of moment that he undertook was the defence of Roſcius Amerinus, in which he gained great honour by his oppoſition to Sylla, who was the proſecutor, and whoſe power had frightened every body elſe from appearing in his behalf: ſuch a ſpirit in a young man at his firſt entrance into publick buſineſs was admired by all the world, and ſeemed to promiſe ſomething very extraordinary: but though the danger of offending the tyrant could not deter him from pleading for Roſcius, yet he thought it not prudent to expoſe himſelf to his reſentment afterwards; but left Rome, and retired into Greece, under pretence of travelling for his health. He there applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence; and

having the advantage of the beſt maſters in the world, he made ſuch improvements in it, that when he came to the bar upon his return to Rome, he ſoon eclipſed all his competitors, even Hortenſius himſelf, who could not ſee without uneaſineſs the ſuperiority he was gaining over him, though they afterwards became very good friends; the conformity of their ſentiments upon publick buſineſs, and the intereſts of the Commonwealth, having united them notwithſtanding their emulation. This great ability in ſpeaking could not fail to raiſe him very high in a government where every thing was diſpoſed of by the favour of the people; and for the firſt proof of their good-will towards him, he was ſent to Sicily in the office of quæſtor, where he behaved himſelf with ſo much juſtice, integrity, and moderation, that his reputation as a magiſtrate was not inferior to that which he had obtained before as an orator. To ingratiate himſelf ſtill further with the Sicilians, he engaged in the proſecution of Verres, who, during his prætorſhip in their iſland, had drawn upon himſelf an univerſal hatred by his rapaciouſneſs, inſolence, and other crimes, which were too often committed with impunity by the Roman governours: and Verres himſelf, infamous as he was, did not want the countenance and protection of ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in Rome, who endeavoured to ſhelter him from juſtice for a reaſon obvious enough, becauſe they were unwilling any enquiry ſhould be made into offences

offences of that publick nature, in the guilt of which ſo many of their friends, and perhaps they themſelves, were too much involved. But the eloquence and credit of Cicero condemned Verres in ſpite of their oppoſition; and the Sicilians were ſo pleaſed with the ſervice he had done them upon that occaſion, that they put themſelves wholly under his protection, and continued their eſteem and affection to the end of his life.

Soon after his ſucceſs in this affair, which reccommended him extremely to the Roman people, who were always glad to ſee magiſtrates proſecuted for mal-adminiſtration, he was made edile; and having gone through that office with a deſerved applauſe, he was unanimouſly choſen prætor. As that dignity was the ſecond in the Commonwealth, the poſſeſſion of it inſpired him with higher thoughts and more aſpiring hopes than he had entertained before: he then began to take ſuch meaſures as he judged moſt likely to contribute to his advancement: and as Pompey was more capable than any body of aſſiſting him in that deſign, he ſought all means of gaining him to his intereſts; and with that view pronounced his famous oration *pro Lege Manilia*, in which he entirely forſook his former character of a lover of his country, and became a principal inſtrument of illegal and arbitrary power. As the part that Cicero acted in this affair deſerves a very particular conſideration, I ſhall ſet it in as full a light as poſſible; the more, becauſe

Plutarch

Plutarch takes no notice of it, which it is not very eaſy to account for, conſidering his uſual impartiality.

The extravagant affection of the people, in committing to Pompey the command of the war againſt the pirates, had veſted him with ſo exorbitant a power, that it utterly deſtroyed the equality eſſential to a Commonwealth. His commiſſion gave him an abſolute authority over the whole length of the Mediterranean as far as Hercules's pillars, and along all the coaſts of it to the diſtance of fifty miles from the ſea: he was impowered to take what money he thought fit out of the publick treaſury without accounting for it, and to raiſe as many ſoldiers and mariners as he judged convenient. Beſides this, he had a liberty of chuſing out of the body of the ſenate, fifteen perſons to ſerve him as lieutenants, to whom he aſſigned their provinces at his own diſcretion. In vain did the conſuls, with moſt of the ſenators, oppoſe this prodigious authority, ſo contrary to the maxims of their government: their reſiſtance ſerved only to inflame the people, and occaſioned them to add to their decree, that Pompey ſhould have power to fit out five hundred ſail of ſhips, to raiſe an army of an hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand men, and that he ſhould have twenty-four ſenators and two quæſtors to obey his orders.

With this force he ſoon reduced the pirates; and his victory was hardly known at Rome, when Manilius, one of the tribunes of the

people, to gratify his insatiable ambition, proposed the giving him the government of Lucullus and the command of that general's army then carrying on the war with Mithridates, and that he should still retain the whole extent of that authority which had been granted him by the former decree, though the reasons for which it had been given were entirely ceased. This was nothing less than delivering to him all the forces both by sea and land, and making him absolute master of the Roman empire: what rendered the favourers of this decree more inexcusable was, that they had not the least pretence of publick necessity to justify the proposing it, as they seemed to have had in the commission they gave him against the pirates, who were at that time very formidable enemies: but Lucullus, who commanded in Asia, had overcome Mithridates in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the war as he whom they appointed to be his successor. Such an excessive power entrusted to one man, where there was so little occasion for it, appeared to the senate an utter subversion of the constitution; but such was their fear of Pompey, whose greatness was become no less terrible than that of Sylla, that except Quintus Catulus and Hortensius none durst contradict the passing of it. These two great men, one of which was beyond dispute the second orator in Rome, spoke with much warmth and force against the decree, endeavouring to persuade the people of the unreasonableness and danger

of

of it; and perhaps they would have made ſome impreſſion, if Pompey's faction, apprehending the effect their orations might have produced, had not ſet up an abler ſpeaker than either of them to harangue on their ſide of the queſtion. Cicero mounted the *roſtrum*, and with an eloquence worthy of a better cauſe, moſt artfully reflected on Lucullus, whoſe reputation, as well as his authority, was to be made a ſacrifice to the envy of Pompey; then he proceeded to deſcant upon Pompey's character, which he ſet off with all the ornaments of rhetorick, attributing to him the whole ſucceſs not only of the African, Spaniſh, and Piratick wars, but even of that againſt the ſlaves, the honour of which was ſolely due to Craſſus. Thus by cruelly injuring two of the greateſt generals that were then in the Commonwealth; by a moſt ſervile flattery of the man who was manifeſtly overturning all its liberties: he brought the people to conſent to the Manilian Law, which, had a regard to the intereſt of his country been his conſtant principle, he ought to have oppoſed as violently as he did afterwards the Agrarian, or any other attempt againſt the ſafety and freedom of the ſtate. It is certain that theſe extraordinary honours conferred on Pompey, as they broke the balance of the Republick, ſo they irritated the ambition of Cæſar, and afterwards furniſhed him with a pretence of demanding as great a power for himſelf, and ſeizing it by force when it was refuſed.

I come

I come now to ſpeak of his conſulſhip, which really deſerves all the praiſes that not only the Greek and Roman hiſtorians have beſtowed upon it, but even thoſe which he himſelf is ſo laviſh of whenever he has an opportunity to mention it. His oppoſition to the law propoſed by Rullus, which was preſented to the people in a form they were always eaſy to be caught with, was a matter of the moſt delicate nature; and nothing leſs than his conſummate addreſs, in the managing thoſe aſſemblies, could poſſibly have hindered its being carried by the artful contrivers of it: but by ſhewing the people that under the notion of a popular decree they were really ſetting up a private tyranny, from which no advantage could ariſe to the poor, for whoſe ſake alone this law was pretended to be formed, but the revenues of the publick would be diſſipated and its liberty deſtroyed; he ſtopped the execution of their deſigns, and ſaved the Commonwealth from the yoke which was juſt ready to be impoſed upon it. I believe no affair was ever managed with greater prudence, nor ever ſo much ſkill exerted in any oration as in thoſe he made upon this occaſion, which are certainly maſter-pieces in their kind, though others of a more pompous ſtyle are generally more admired. His conduct in Catiline's conſpiracy is too well known to be repeated here: the vigilance, firmneſs, and activity, with which he diſcovered and prevented that deſign, can never be too much extolled;

extolled; nor could any thing have depreciated the ſervices he then did his country, but his being ſo ſenſible of them himſelf. As to the charge brought againſt him by his enemies of having violated the Porcian law, by putting to death the chief of the conſpirators without allowing them a trial, he was abundantly juſtified in ſo doing by the urgent neceſſity of affairs, and by the order of the ſenate, *That he ſhould take care the Republick might receive no detriment.* This commiſſion veſted him with ſomething like a dictatorial power, and the extreme danger of the Commonwealth required it; for the leaſt delay would have been fatal. But as the people were always jealous of any ſtretch of authority in the ſenate, they were more eaſily wrought upon to take umbrage at this extraordinary act, which Cicero himſelf calls in one of his letters *Invidioſa Potentia.*—After the expiration of his conſulſhip all mens eyes were turned upon him, as one who they hoped would continue to be the chief ſupport of thoſe that were affectionate to the Commonwealth. What engagements he then entered into, what friendſhips he cultivated, what policy he obſerved, demands a very ſtrict examination, though this period of his life, from the death of Catiline to his baniſhment by Clodius, has been paſſed lightly over by hiſtorians; and therefore many parts of it are only to be collected from his private letters, in which he gives a very particular account of every ſtep he

he took, and of the many changes both in his ſentiments and behaviour that happened during that remarkable interval. We ſhall find him ſometimes devoted to Pompey, ſometimes at variance with him; ſometimes imploring his protection, ſometimes deſpiſing his power; now reſolved to ſtand or fall with the Commonwealth, now making his terms with its tyrants; almoſt always reaſoning differently, and yet frequently reaſoning better than he could prevail upon himſelf to act. When he was to make an oration to the people upon quitting the conſulſhip, the ſecret enemies of his adminiſtration declared themſelves; and Cæſar, who was one of the prætors, together with Metullus and Beſtia, two tribunes, would not ſuffer him to give an account of his conduct as was always uſual, but commanded him to abjure his office, and leave the roſtrum. This they grounded upon his having put to death ſome Roman citizens without a legal trial; and they thought it would be a great mortification to Cicero's vanity, to deprive him of ſo fair an opportunity of making his own panegyrick: but the readineſs of his wit found a way to diſappoint their malice; for he took the oath in a new-invented form, and inſtead of ſwearing that he had acted nothing contrary to the intereſts of the republick, he ſwore that he had ſaved the city and the whole ſtate from ruin. As extraordinary as this oath was, all the people took it after him in the ſame words, and the affront that his enemies would have

have done him fell entirely upon themſelves. The next day he complained of them in the ſenate, and prevailed upon that order to paſs a decree, *That no proſecution ſhould be brought againſt him for what he had executed by virtue of the power they had given him.* This drove the cabal againſt him to propoſe a law for the calling home Pompey with the army under his command, to ſecure the liberties of the people againſt the pretended tyranny of Cicero: but by the invincible oppoſition of Cato this project failed. However, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon the mind of Cicero, that he reſolved to neglect no methods of binding Pompey more ſtrongly to his intereſts, who had already very great obligations to him, as has been ſhewn before. Accordingly, when that general was preparing to return to Rome, he writ to him: and having complained of his want of friendſhip, in not congratulating him upon what he had done during his abſence for the ſervice of the ſtate; he compares Pompey to the younger Scipio, and himſelf to Lælius, deſiring that their union might be as ſtrict as was the famous one between thoſe two great men. This produced an appearance of amity towards him, but he himſelf ſuſpected it not to be ſincere, as is evident from his 13th epiſtle to Atticus, in which he ſays of Pompey, "That indeed he made great pro-
"feſſions of eſteem and conſideration for him,
"and affected openly to ſupport and praiſe him;
"but it was eaſy enough to ſee he envied him,

" though he endeavoured to conceal it." Cicero's vanity makes him call that envy, which was really ill-will; for Pompey could not be a friend to any body that had declared himself in the intereſts of the Republick. The character that Cicero gives of him in the ſame letter, is very different from that of Scipio, to whom he had compared him a little before: his words are, ſpeaking of his conduct, *Nihil come, nihil ſimplex, nihil* ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς *honeſtum, nihil illuſtre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* And again, in the 20th of the ſame book, *Is vir nihil habet amplum, nihil excelſum, nihil non ſummiſſum & populare.* Would one believe, that the hero of the fine oration *pro lege Manilia*, and the Pompey thus deſcribed, was the ſame man? had he nothing great? nothing elevated? nothing but what was mean and vulgar? was there neither dignity, nor ſpirit, nor freedom, nor candour, nor honeſty, nor good-nature, in his whole behaviour? But to this perſon, ſuch as he is here repreſented, Cicero earneſtly laboured to recommend himſelf: and he had ſoon after more need than ever of his protection, in the famous quarrel with Clodius, which he entered into more to ſatisfy the ill-humour of his wife Terentia, who was jealous of an intrigue between him and Clodia, than out of any regard to the ceremonies of the *Bona Dea.* Had he known the parts and capacity of Clodius as well as he did afterwards when he came to feel them, in all probability, he would not have expoſed

himſelf to the enmity of a man ſo able to do him miſchief, and with whom he had always lived before in a degree of friendſhip. But beſides that he thought his ruin infallible from the evidence he brought againſt him, the perpetual riot and debauchery in which he paſſed his time, made him apprehend no great conſequences from his reſentment: but he was ſoon convinced, that a turn to pleaſure does not always render thoſe that follow it unfit for buſineſs, eſpecially when they are excited to action by any violent paſſion. Clodius found means to corrupt his judges; and was no ſooner acquitted but he turned all his thoughts to the purſuit of his revenge upon Cicero, and kept him in continual alarms till he got an opportunity of compaſſing it, which obliged him to court Pompey more and more, though ſuch a conduct was extremely inconſiſtent with his principles of liberty. As much diſtruſt as he had expreſſed of that great man's friendſhip in the letter to Atticus I mentioned firſt, he now deceived himſelf into an entire dependance on it, and moſt of his letters were filled with boaſts of his good policy in ſecuring ſuch a powerful protector againſt Clodius and all his faction. How little foundation he had for ſo much confidence, will appear by the ſequel of that affair. In the mean time, there was a buſineſs brought before the ſenate, which, as it very much affected one of the main points of Cicero's policy, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of. It had always been

been his favourite ſyſtem, through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, to ſtrengthen the power of the ſenate, by a cloſe union with the equeſtrian order, they making a very conſiderable body, and carrying a great weight along with them to whichever ſide they inclined. He ſucceeded ſo well in this deſign, that, during the conſpiracy of Catiline, they were a conſtant guard to the ſenate, and ready upon all occaſions to ſupport the reſolutions of that houſe. This was certainly a very important ſervice to the Commonwealth, and it was no ſmall honour to Cicero to have been the author of it: but moſt of this order being L. ii. c. 1. employed in collecting the taxes of the Republick, or in farming of its revenues, there were grievous complaints made againſt them from all parts of the empire, for the frequent abuſes of their office, in all which Cicero was forced to defend them contrary to truth and equity, for fear of alienating them from the ſenate. But ſoon after the affair of Clodius, Cato, who did not underſtand thoſe managements, accuſed the judges who abſolved him of corruption, many of which were Roman knights, and obtained a decree againſt them. This was reſented as an affront upon the whole body; and Cicero, to pacify them again, was obliged to ſpeak in the ſenate againſt the decree. But a much worſe matter, that followed Ibidem. ſhortly after, involved him in a new trouble upon their account. Many of them who had farmed the Aſian revenues of the cenſor, whoſe

office it was to ſett them, had taken them at too high a price, out of emulation to go beyond the other bidders; and afterwards, repenting of their bargain, made a moſt impudent requeſt to the ſenate, that they might be diſcharged of ſo much of their rents as they thought would burthen them too much. It was impoſſible for Cato to be patient under ſuch a demand; he oppoſed it with all his might; and, on the other ſide, Cicero, who knew of what conſequence it was not to diſoblige the order, ſupported them no leſs vigorouſly: the diſpute between them laſted a good while; but at length Cato, who had juſtice and reaſon entirely on his ſide, got the better, and the petition was rejected. Experience ſoon ſhewed how much more uſeful it would have been for the Commonwealth to have followed Cicero's advice. The knights, exaſperated at the ſeverity of the ſenate, abandoned their party, and gave themſelves up to Cæſar, who knew very well how to turn this diviſion to his own advantage. It was the fault of Cato not to ſee that publick affairs are incapable of perfection, and that it is impoſſible to govern a ſtate without ſubmitting leſſer intereſts to greater; hence it was that, with admirable intentions for the ſervice of his country, he ſometimes did a great deal of miſchief, for want of diſtinguiſhing between what was good in ſpeculation, and what in practice. This was ſeldom the caſe with Cicero; when he departed from the intereſts of the republick, it

was

was for the moſt part with his eyes open, and without the excuſe of error. During theſe wrangles between him and Cato, the triumvirate was ſecretly forming; and Cæſar, under the ſpecious pretence of reconciling Pompey and Craſſus, was working himſelf into a ſhare of power with them, which he knew better than they did how to ſupport. Cicero perceived it, and takes notice to Atticus of his growing greatneſs. But as dangerous as this union was to the Commonwealth, he did not think fit to oppoſe it, or break with Pompey upon that account; though he makes the ſtrongeſt declarations of his reſolution not to abandon the good cauſe, but ever to maintain it at all events. It ſeems he flattered himſelf with an unaccountable chimæra of being able to govern them both, as he tells Atticus in the firſt epiſtle of the ſecond book. And again, in the third of the ſame book, he informs his friend, that Cæſar had aſſured him he would do nothing but by his advice: poſſibly Cæſar, being ſenſible of his foible, might have ſoothed his vanity in making him believe ſo; but it is much more likely that his conduct was owing to other motives, which are mentioned in that letter, viz. *Reditus in gratiam cum inimicis, pax cum multitudine, ſenectutis otium.* Thus he manifeſtly gave up the care of the Commonwealth to a precarious ſafety and ſhameful eaſe; but he could not help reproaching himſelf for it at the end of the letter, and acknowledging that this was acting very differently from the L. ii, ep. 1.

virtuous maxims of his conſulſhip, and very much beneath his reputation.

The fifth letter of the ſecond book is ſo extraordinary a confeſſion of his weakneſs, not to give it a worſe name, that I am ſurprized how it came to drop from him even to ſo intimate a friend as Atticus. He very ingenouſly tells him, That if they, whom he afterwards calls Tyrants, would have bribed him with the place of augur, they had it in their power to have gained him. *Quo quidem uno (Auguratu ſcil.) ego ab iſtis capi poſſum; vide levitatem meam.* But, being diſappointed in the object of his ambition, he reſolves, out of the abundance of his virtue, to retire from buſineſs, and philoſophize: accordingly he went into the country; and in the letters he wrote from thence, treats both Clodius and Pompey with great contempt, and even threatens the laſt with a publick recantation of all the fine things he had ſaid of him. While he was abſent, Pompey married Cæſar's daughter; upon which, Cicero, whoſe penetration ſaw all the conſequences of this fatal alliance, returned to Rome, and, joining with Curio and other oppoſers of Cæſar in the ſenate, endeavoured to obſtruct his deſigns, though without offending Pompey, with whom he ſtill kept up a ſhew of friendſhip. But the ſtorm, which had hung over him ſo long, now broke upon his head: Cæſar, to be revenged, aſſiſted Clodius, and got him to be choſen tribune of the people. No ſooner was he entered upon

this office, but he openly menaced Cicero with a profecution for the death of the conſpirators. This threw him into one of his uſual terrors; but Pompey flattered him with repeated aſſurances that he would not ſuffer Clodius to proceed: at firſt he gave credit to theſe promiſes; but finding that the deſign againſt him ſtill went on, he began to ſuſpect that he was betrayed. His affairs were in this diſagreeable poſture, when Cæſar, who deſired only to draw him off from giving him trouble at Rome, offered to carry him his lieutenant into Gaul, for which province he was ready to ſet out. Plutarch ſays, he ſolicited it himſelf; but the letters to Atticus expreſsly affirm, that the propoſal came from Cæſar. Be it how it will, there could nothing more advantageous have happened to Cicero at that time. The employment was very honourable, and would have effectually ſecured him from the malice and power of his enemies: being ſenſible of this himſelf, he was inclined to accept of it, and would have gone with Cæſar, if Clodius, perceiving that he was in danger of loſing his revenge, had not very artfully changed his conduct, and, by affecting to ſeem moderate and void of rancour, perſuaded the people that he had laid aſide his reſentment, and was even diſpoſed to a reconciliation, if ſought for. Cicero was weak enough to be duped by this behaviour, and refuſed the lieutenancy of Cæſar; who thereupon inſiſted with Pompey upon giving him up to the fury of Clodius, and declared in an aſſembly of the

people, that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting to death the accomplices of Catiline. Clodius puſhed the affair ſo vigorouſly, that Cicero ſoon found he had undone himſelf in not making uſe of Cæſar's offer. He fell into a moſt unmanly dejection, changing his robe, and walking about the ſtreets in a ſordid habit, to move the compaſſion of the people, while Clodius inſulted and reviled him for his want of ſpirit. The ſenate indeed, and the whole equeſtrian order, gave him all the marks he could deſire of affection and concern; but the faction againſt him was the ſtronger: Craſſus was his enemy upon many accounts, Catulus was dead, Lucullus retired from buſineſs: Pompey was his only reſource, and he ſtill counted upon ſome return for the many ſervices he had done him in the courſe of his adminiſtration. But it is the juſt puniſhment of thoſe who make themſelves the tools of other mens ambition, *That whenever the intereſts of thoſe they ſerve may happen to demand it, they are ſure to be ſacrificed: for no very ambitious man was ever grateful any further than it was uſeful to him to be ſo.* This Cicero moſt cruelly experienced, when, going to Pompey to implore his protection, he, to avoid his importunities or reproaches, refuſed to ſee him. Upon this he utterly loſt all hopes, and, abandoning himſelf to the moſt abject complaints, conſulted with his friends what he ſhould do to avoid the preſent danger. Moſt of them adviſed him to go voluntarily into baniſhment, as the

the only means to prevent a Civil War; which counſel he reſolved to follow, as moſt conformable to his own genius and circumſtances.

In how ſpiritleſs and effeminate a manner he behaved during his exile, is ſufficiently known to all the world; the ſtain that is left upon his character was too great to be varniſhed over by all the glory of his triumphant return, which he chiefly owed to the imprudence of Clodius in quarreling with Pompey, though the vigorous proceeding of his friend Milo and the firmneſs of the ſenate were of no ſmall ſervice to him. As ſoon as he was re-eſtabliſhed in his former dignities, he linked himſelf more cloſely than ever in friendſhip with Pompey, making his court to Cæſar at the ſame time, whom he found it was not ſafe for him to offend. This complaiſance had the effect that he propoſed from it; he obtained the place of augur which he deſired ſo paſſionately, and not long after the government of Cilicia. His behaviour in the adminiſtration of this province would have done him a great deal of honour, if he could have been content with the reputation he had acquired, of a wiſe and upright magiſtrate, without aiming at the glory of a ſoldier, to which he was far from having ſo good a title. Cato's anſwer to the letter, in which he ſolicits him to get a triumph decreed him by the ſenate, is a very handſome reproof of his vanity, and a more gentle one than one would have expected from the roughneſs of that great man's character. But, notwithſtanding all

all the pains he took to ſoften his denial, Cicero was grievouſly offended at it; which ill diſpoſition of his, the enemies of Cato, particularly Cæſar, omitted no endeavours to confirm. Upon his return to Rome, he found the Civil War juſt ready to break out between him and Pompey: this extremely embarraſſed him; for he was very deſirous to be upon good terms with both, and both equally courted him to their party. At firſt he attempted to bring them to ſome agreement, but he ſoon found that deſign impracticable; for ambition, which had formerly made them friends, now made them enemies: then he laboured to diſſuade Pompey in particular from hazarding a war, by repreſenting to him the inequality of their forces, and that it was now too late to quarrel with the man whom he himſelf had made ſo ſtrong: theſe arguments, juſt and reaſonable as they were, had no effect upon Pompey, who was infatuated with a vain conceit of his own power, and a falſe confidence which betrayed him to his ruin. All his efforts towards preventing a rupture meeting with no ſucceſs, Cicero found himſelf in the greateſt perplexities for which of the two factions he ſhould declare. On one ſide he ſaw a general without authority, troops without obedience, neglect of all neceſſary preparation, and a continual ſeries of miſtakes; on the other, an active leader, a well-diſciplined army, great courage, and admirable conduct: whichever got the better, the Commonwealth was almoſt equally ſure of being enſlaved. That

L. vi. ep. 1, 2.

this

this was the caſe, very plainly appears from many paſſages in his Epiſtles to Atticus, where he ſays, That, let the ſucceſs of the Civil War be what it would, the conſequence of it would certainly be a tyrant. I ſhall only cite one, which is in the 7th letter of the 7th book: *Depugna, inquis, potius quam ſervias: ut quid? ſi victus eris, proſcribare; ſi viceris, tamen ſervias.* The only difference was, That the tyranny of Pompey would be eſtabliſhed upon the authority of the ſenate, and Cæſar choſe rather to build his upon the favour of the people. Under theſe difficulties Cicero remained ſome time in a moſt uneaſy ſituation; at laſt he tells Atticus the concluſion of all his reaſonings in the following words: *Quid ergo, inquis, acturus es?* L. vii. *Idem quod pecudes quæ depulſæ ſui generis ſequuntur gregis: ut bos armenta, ſic ego bonos viros, aut eos qui dicuntur boni, ſequar, etiam ſi ruent.* ep. 7. He reſolves to herd with his own kind; that is, to follow thoſe who had the reputation of being the honeſt party, the majority of ſenators, and the men whoſe dignity was moſt eminent in the Commonwealth. But though he had taken this reſolution, he delayed a good while to execute it, from the natural timidity of his temper. In the mean time, ſome of his friends that were in Cæſar's army, and Cæſar himſelf, were very earneſt with him to ſtand neuter at leaſt, if he would not join with them; which conduct they perſuaded him would be moſt for his honour, as well as infinitely for his advantage. But Pompey preſſed him to come

come immediately to his camp, and in ſuch a manner as let him ſee that he reſented the uncertainty of his behaviour. This alarmed him, and he began to declare himſelf according to his firſt intention, though he every day ſaw more reaſon to apprehend the ill ſucceſs of their party. But what determined him at laſt was the ſeverity with which Pompey threatened to proceed againſt all who remained unactive and neuters in the quarrel; *Crudeliter minabitur otioſis*, ſays he in a letter to one of his friends. And in another to Atticus he tells him, that the leaſt he (Atticus) would ſuffer, if Pompey ſhould be victorious, was a confiſcation of all his fortune; and that as many as continued in the ſame neutrality muſt expect to come off no better. He himſelf therefore, upon the report of ſome diſadvantage Cæſar lay under in Spain (which, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, he ſoon ſurmounted), ſet ſail, and joined Pompey at his camp in Greece, who received him coldly, as knowing he came thither very much againſt his will. He endeavoured to revenge himſelf by bitter railleries upon the ill management of their affairs, and ſo derided the weakneſs of the party, that it drew from Pompey this ſevere reproof, *Paſs into Cæſar's camp, and then you will give over ridiculing us, and begin to fear us.* Cicero ſo far followed his advice, that he withdrew himſelf before the battle of Pharſalia, and immediately after that deciſive action made his peace with the conqueror. From that time to the death

Ad Familiares, l. ix. ep. 5. Ad Varronem, l. xi. ep. 6.

death of Cæsar, he led a most inglorious and dishonourable life, courting the usurper, whom in his heart he hated, with the most abject and servile adulation, entirely forgetting the dignity of his former character, and not even hiding the disgraceful circumstances of his present situation by a prudent and modest retreat, but exposing them to the eyes of the publick, and braving the censures of mankind. Yet in this unworthy and contemptible scene of action, which brought such a cloud upon his reputation, one merit he still preserved, that in his flatteries to Cæsar he shewed a regard to the interests of his friends, and the safety of those who had faithfully served the Commonwealth. Such a conduct shews there were yet some sparks of virtue remaining in him; and though it does not atone for the mean homage which he paid to the tyrant of his country, yet it certainly lessens the guilt and takes off from the infamy of his crime. The conspiracy against Cæsar, which was formed and executed without his participation, is a plain proof how low he was then fallen in the opinion of honest men; for who was so fit to have engaged in a design against the life of an usurper, as the destroyer of Catiline and his accomplices? from whom could the Republick so properly expect her freedom, as from him who had before defended it in so imminent a danger? But they who espoused that cause which he had deserted, saw and knew that he had no longer spirit enough for so great an undertaking;

undertaking; and therefore they contented themſelves with requiring his approbation afterwards, which they were ſatisfied he would not refuſe them when the blow was ſtruck; and then indeed, as they expected he would do, he returned to the maxims of his former policy, and his character in ſome meaſure recovered its former luſtre. He entered into the intereſts of the conſpirators, and did them all the ſervice he was able, the particular inſtances of which it will not be neceſſary to mention here. But when he found that all was going again to wreck by the cabals of Antony and other friends of Cæſar, when Brutus and the other heads of the conſpiracy were obliged to yield to the violence of the conjuncture and abandon Italy, he too judged it prudent to retire, and took ſhipping to go into Greece; but, meeting with contrary winds, he was driven back once or twice to ſhore; by which delay, time was given to his friends in Rome to acquaint him with Antony's having made a decree, for the perpetual aboliſhment of the dictatorſhip, which Sylla and Cæſar had made ſo odious, and ſome other popular acts, that gave them hopes he would return to his duty, and no longer hinder the reſtoration of the Commonwealth. Being thus called back by, what he terms himſelf, the general voice of his country, and looking upon the accidents which had delayed his paſſage as miraculous declarations of the will of Providence to command his return, he made

made what haſte he could to Rome, where he was received by the whole city with uncommon honours. But the good opinion he had conceived of Antony did not laſt long: ſome harſh words he ſpake in the ſenate concerning him, occaſioned a very ſharp reply, which Antony reſenting, loudly threatened him in his oration, and accuſed him as an accomplice of Cæſar's murder. Cicero from that moment kept no meaſures with him; but, arming himſelf with all the thunder of his eloquence, poured forth thoſe terrible invectives, which compelled the ſenate to declare war upon Antony, and ſoon after drove him out of Italy. This was certainly a very great action, and one of the ſhining parts of Cicero's life; but poſſibly he would have done the ſtate more ſervice, in the ſituation it then was, if his animoſity againſt Antony had been leſs violent, becauſe it precipitated the execution of thoſe deſigns which ended in the ruin of the Commonwealth; at leaſt this was the opinion of Brutus, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in his letters. But there is another part of his conduct, which it will be more difficult to know how to juſtify: I mean his committing the ſafety of the Republick to an ambitious boy, who, from the near relation he bore to Cæſar, could never be a proper perſon to defend it in conjunction with his father's murderers. At firſt indeed it might look like good policy, to make uſe of his credit among the friends and ſoldiers of Julius Cæſar, againſt the more

formidable

formidable greatneſs of Mark Antony; but when he afterwards grew ſo powerful, it was a moſt inconſiderate and fatal miſtake to continue him any longer in employment, and put the laſt ſtake of liberty into the hands of one who had ſo great temptations to betray it. It ſeems Octavius, unexperienced as he was, had diſcovered the old man's weak ſide, and, by flattering and perſuading him that he would always act ſubſervient to his authority, had engaged him to that exceſſive confidence which his friends ſaw the danger of, though he did not. Brutus in particular, whoſe eyes were ever open to all that might affect the Commonwealth, made him ſtrong and frequent inſtances, to have a care of ſetting up one tyrant while he was pulling down another: but when, without any regard to theſe remonſtrances, he carried his ſervility ſo far as even to ſupplicate Octavius for the lives of Brutus and the other conſpirators, that truly great and free-ſpirited Roman could not help venting his indignation againſt him in two letters, one to Atticus, and the other to Cicero himſelf, which are at the ſame time the nobleſt monuments of the heroick virtue of him that wrote them, and the moſt unanſwerable condemnations of that conduct which gave occaſion to them. And indeed he had too much reaſon to ſay, that Cicero acted as if he was not ſo ſolicitous about ſecuring the liberty of his country, as to chuſe a maſter who would be favourable to himſelf. But what moſt of all exaſperated

Ep. 16, 17. ad Brutum.

Brutus was, that in the excess of his complaisance for Octavius, he had even reflected upon Casca, whose cause had been espoused by him with so much warmth, and upon whose action he had bestowed such high encomiums, while he had freedom and courage to speak his mind. Of this Brutus, whose reputation was strongly linkt to that of Casca, most grievously complains to Atticus, and tells him with a noble contempt, that though he and his associates, in the generous design of delivering the whole world from slavery, did not boast so much of the *Ides of March* as Cicero of the *Nones of December**, yet their glory was not inferior to his, nor their characters less sacred. I must transcribe both the letters, if I were to repeat all the admirable reproofs which they contain of Cicero's baseness and indiscretion, in so meanly courting the enemy of the Commonwealth, and for having planted and supported a tyranny, whose roots were like to strike deeper, and grow more strongly, than that of Antony; which he valued himself upon having attempted to destroy. All that can be alledged in his excuse is, that he believed he should be able to deprive Octavius of the power he had given him, when the interest of the state should require it: there are some passages in the history of those times, which seem to favour this supposition, and even to assure us, that he in-

* At which time Cicero quashed the conspiracy of Catiline.

tended doing it, when he was prevented by the ſudden forming of the triumvirate. It is ſaid that Panſa, who received a mortal wound at the battle of Modena, declared at his death, to the young Cæſar, that the ſenate only made uſe of him as an inſtrument of their vengeance upon Antony, and that they were determined to make him the next ſacrifice to the jealouſy of the republick. There was alſo an expreſſion of Cicero reported to him, in which, by an equivocation eaſily underſtood, there was intimated a deſign to cut him off *(laudandum juvenem ornandum tollendum)* as ſoon as he had ſerved their turn; upon which, he openly declared that he would take care to put it out of their power. If this was the caſe, it very much takes off from the ingratitude of Octavius, in conſenting to the death of his benefactor, ſince ſuch double-dealing could hardly deſerve the name of an obligation, let the effects of it be ever ſo advantageous. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think, that though his behaviour in regard to Cæſar was productive of infinite miſchiefs, yet he meant well in it to the Commonwealth, and that the fault was rather of his judgement than his heart; but to whatever cauſe it is to be aſcribed, he ſuffered death as a puniſhment for it, and fell himſelf the earlieſt victim to that tyranny his miſmanagement had eſtabliſhed. There was ſomething mean in the circumſtances that immediately preceded his murder; but at the inſtant

V. Epiſt. D. Bruto, lib. xl. ad Familiares, ep. 20.

See Plutarch.

of death itſelf he behaved with dignity, and ſhewed a firmneſs not unworthy of a Roman.

In his private character he was very amiable, only ſometimes too much given to raillery, a fault which very witty men are ſeldom wiſe enough to ſhun. I cannot paſs ſo ſevere a cenſure as ſome have done upon his grief for the death of his daughter Tullia, whoſe extraordinary merit is a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe who reproach it with the name of weakneſs. Great minds are moſt ſenſible of ſuch loſſes; and the ſentiments of humanity and affection are uſually moſt tender, where in every other reſpect there is the greateſt ſtrength of reaſon.

I ſhall cloſe theſe obſervations with one remark upon the works of Cicero, that they are a ſtrong proof how eſſential freedom is to the excellency of writing, particularly in the two moſt manly kinds of it, philoſophy and oratory; ſince, after the loſs of the Roman liberties, they were ſo far from ever being equalled, that all attempts which were made to imitate them, ſerved only to demonſtrate that the genius and learning of Rome were ſunk together with its conſtitution. Poetry indeed, and other parts of literature which are only proper for amuſement, may poſſibly flouriſh under the ſmiles of an arbitrary Prince; but force and ſolidity of reaſoning, or a ſublime and commanding eloquence, are inconſiſtent with ſlaviſh reſtaint, or timorous dependancy.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

From a Manuſcript of the late Lord LYTTELTON.

Communicated by WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON, Eſq.

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ON THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

IN the early part of my youth I wrote a little treatiſe, entitled *Obſervations on the Life of Cicero*, which went through two editions; the firſt coming out in the year 1731, the ſecond in the year 1741. During the laſt of theſe years Dr. Middleton alſo publiſhed his *Life of Cicero*, in the preface to which elegant and elaborate work he did me the honour to take ſome notice of mine, and expreſſed a wiſh that I ſhould re-conſider the ſubject in a more extenſive view of that great man's whole conduct. Finding my mind diſengaged from other occupations, I now obey that call; and, upon examining the general ſtate of the times in which Cicero lived, I have made ſome reflections, which induce me to enlarge my firſt deſign, ſo as to take in the whole period from the firſt al-

teration of the Roman republick into an abſolute monarchy, by the ſhort uſurpation of Cornelius Sylla, to the final ſettlement of the *Imperial* power, another ſpecies of deſpotiſm, no leſs violently aſſumed, but more moderately exerciſed, and more artfully conſtituted, by Auguſtus Cæſar.

The means by which Sylla, after a dangerous conteſt, obtained an uncontrouled dominion over Rome, are ſo well ſet forth by Plutarch, that no comment upon them will be neceſſary here. I ſhall only take notice of a weighty obſervation, made by another hiſtorian who wrote in thoſe times, viz. that the army, which, under the command of this conſul, expelled Caius Marius and all his party out of Rome, *was the firſt Roman army which ever had entered into that city in a hoſtile manner.* To this I will add, that Sylla was the firſt Roman general who ventured to reſiſt a decree of the people, however ill procured, and to continue himſelf in the command of an army againſt their orders, by the aid and ſtrength of that army. But it muſt be alſo obſerved, that although the diſſentions preceding this event had not riſen to the heighth of civil war, yet for ſome time before theſe legions drew their ſwords in their general's quarrel, the violent outrages of the tribune Sulpicius and his armed band of ruffians, which he called his Anti-ſenate, had, in effect, deſtroyed the legal government and liberty of the ſtate. Nor was it only the fury of a popular faction

which

See Plut. Vit. Syll. & Mar. App. Alexandrin. de Bello Civili, l. i.

which had produced theſe diſorders. By the barbarous murder of Tiberius Gracchus the ſenate itſelf had ſet the example of ſuch pernicious riots. The laws, which could not guard the ſacred perſon of a tribune from the clubs of a mob brought againſt him by the nobles, became as unable to protect the nobles from the daggers of villains, banded together againſt them by ſeditious plebeians. And this anarchy ſoon conſtrained both parties to reſort to a military force.

At the end of the civil war, Sylla found himſelf maſter of the Roman Commonwealth. Had he then ſheathed the ſword, without doing any injury to the freedom of his country, he would have been ranked among her greateſt heroes: but, againſt the whole tenor of his former behaviour, he ſhewed himſelf a worſe tyrant than Marius had been in the utmoſt exceſſes of his deſpotiſm and cruelty, after Cinna had brought him back to Rome.

It would be out of the compaſs of what I propoſe in theſe remarks, were I to relate all the horrors of the bloody proſcription carried on by Sylla's orders; but, concerning the magiſtracy, under the name of which he choſe to exerciſe his tyranny (I mean the dictatorſhip), ſomething muſt be ſaid in this place.

The inſtitution of this office was almoſt coæval with the liberty of Rome. Twelve years after the expulſion of Tarquin the Proud, or, as ſome reckon, only eight, *(ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando lata,)* a law Liv. l. ii. c. 18.

was

was made for the creating of a dictator, with a power ſuperior to that of all other officers, military or civil, and ſubject to no appeal, being only reſtrained by the following limitations—that it was to be exerciſed within the bounds of Italy, and not for more than ſix months. The idea of it ſeems to have been taken from Alba, of which city the Romans were a colony, and may therefore have adopted, without much deliberation, what had been practiſed there: but the occaſion of their having recourſe to it was (according to Livy) the inſtant dread of a war, which thirty Latin cities, confederated with the Sabines, threatened to make againſt Rome.

Liv. ut ſuprà.

Other reaſons have been given, but this ſeems the moſt probable; becauſe military operations are better carried on by a ſingle commander, than by two equal chiefs; and the people, at a time of imminent danger, might more eaſily be induced to conſtitute ſuch an officer for the defence of their country againſt foreign enemies, than if the law had been firſt propoſed by the ſenate for any political purpoſe. Yet they ſhould have conſidered, that the dictatorial power extended over the ſtate, as well as over the army, and that the nobles might uſe it as an engine againſt *them* upon other occaſions.

The nomination of this magiſtrate appears to have been aſſigned by law to either of the two conſuls; but the choice was confined to ſome one of thoſe ſenators who had before obtained

tained the conſulſhip: and the uſual method was, for the ſenate to decree, upon any great exigency, that a dictator ſhould be made, and to direct on what perſon of conſular dignity the nomination ſhould fall. Yet it was in the power of either of the conſuls, without any order from *them*, and without the approbation of his colleague, to name, of his own accord, any conſular ſenator to this ſupreme magiſtracy; and their approbation, concurring with ſuch an appointment, fully ratified and confirmed it, however diſagreeable it might be to the people. A remarkable inſtance of this, and likewiſe of the uſe occaſionally made of the dictatorial power for the purpoſes of the ſenate, occurs in the account which is given by Livy of the events of the year 316 from the building of Rome. He tells us, that the ſenate reproaching the conſuls with a neglect of their duty, for not having exerted the authority of their charge, to puniſh a conſpiracy of the Roman knight, Spurius Mælius, with ſome tribunes of the people, againſt the commonwealth, one of them ſaid, "The blame laid on them was unjuſt: for they, being ſubject to the controul of the laws, which had given an appeal from them to the people, wanted ſtrength in their magiſtracy, more than they did in their minds, to inflict the vengeance due to a crime of this nature. *(Opus eſſe non forti ſolum viro, ſed etiam libero exſolutoque legum vinculis. Itaque ſe dictatorem*

L. iv. c. 13, 14, 15. Ann. Urb. Condit. 316.

rem Lucium Quintium dicturum.) That there was need of a man, not only courageous, but moreover *free, and not fettered with the reſtraints of the laws. He therefore would name Lucius Quintius dictator.*"

The whole ſenate approving it, Lucius Quintius was accordingly named to that office; and the next day guards of ſoldiers having been placed in the forum, Caius Servilius Ahala, whom he had appointed his general of the horſe, cited Mælius, by his orders, to come before his tribunal, and anſwer there to the charge brought againſt him in the ſenate. But he, calling on the people to ſuccour him in this danger, which, he ſaid, was drawn upon him by his kindneſs to them and the malice of the ſenate, ſome of them reſcued him from the hands of an officer, who was going to carry him before the dictator: whereupon Servilius, aſſiſted by a band of young patricians, followed him into the crowd, in which he had taken refuge, and killed him there with his own hand: after which, covered over with the blood he had ſhed, he went back to Quintius, and told him what he had done. That magiſtrate praiſed him *for having freed the republick*; and then, in an harangue which he made to the people, whom the ſight of this deed had thrown into a tumult, declared, *(Mælium jure cæſum, etiam ſi regni crimine inſons fuerit, qui vocatus à magiſtro equitum ad dictatorem non veniſſet,) That Mælius, though he*

he were innocent of aſpiring to make himſelf king of Rome, with which he had been charged, was yet juſtly put to death, becauſe, having been cited by the maſter of the horſe, to come before the dictator, he did not come.

When we conſider, that this man was probably guilty of no other treaſon, than affecting to render himſelf too popular, by largeſſes of corn to the people, in a time of great dearth; it muſt appear that a power, which, upon ſuch an occaſion, could ſo ſuddenly be called forth, and ſo violently exerciſed, was not very conſiſtent with the much-boaſted liberty of the Roman republick.

The conſtitution of that ſtate is praiſed by Polybius, as a happy mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy; but the dictatorſhip brought into it a kind of domination more properly tyrannical than regal. Polyb. l. vi.

For, in a limited monarchy, the king is not abſolute, but reſtrained by the laws, and his miniſters are reſponſible to the other eſtates of the kingdom, or the courts of judicature therein, for any abuſe of his power: but a dictator in Rome *(abſolutus legum vinculis)* was abſolved by his office from all reſtraints of the laws, and not accountable to the ſenate or aſſembly of the people, or any other juriſdiction, for any act he had done in the exerciſe of his charge, however arbitrary or illegal. If it be ſaid, that the regal power in the Roman conſtitution was exerciſed by conſuls, and the dictatorſhip was only an extra-

extraordinary remedy, to which recourſe was had in ſudden emergencies, when the ordinary courſe of government was unable to anſwer the exigency of the ſtate, or provide for its ſafety; I anſwer, that not only the conſuls, or the ſenate, or both theſe powers united, but the people alſo as one conſtitutional part of the Roman commonwealth, ought to have judged of the neceſſity of employing this remedy, ſo dangerous to their freedom; and without their conſent it never ſhould have been uſed.

Thus, in England, where a mixed conſtitution of government unites the powers of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, much more happily than that of Rome ever did, even in its beſt ſtate (as I hope to ſhew in the courſe of theſe remarks) if extraordinary dangers require that the Habeas Corpus law (the great ſecurity of our freedom) ſhould for a time be ſuſpended, it can only be done by the joint advice and authority of the whole legiſlature. And if, in any caſe where delay would be fatal, the ſafety of the publick apparently obliges the king, in whom alone the executive power reſides, to act againſt this or any other law, without having been previouſly empowered ſo to do by both houſes of parliament, his miniſters are reſponſible for it to their country, and can no otherwiſe be ſecured than by a bill of indemnity, which, if the neceſſity pleaded for their juſtification is found to have been real,

real, the lords and commons will not refuſe to paſs. But, in Rome, a ſingle conſul, agreeing with the ſenate to name a dictator, without the concurrence and againſt the will of the people, might ſubject, at any time, the liberty and the life of every Roman citizen to the arbitrary power of one man, ſet above all the laws, and in no way reſponſible, for the exerciſe of his ſovereignty, to the juſtice of the ſtate. Indeed, after the end of the ſecond Punic war, the ſenate itſelf grew ſo jealous of the danger of this office, that, for 120 years before Sylla took it, no dictator was appointed. The manner in which he choſe to have it conferred on him demands obſervation.

Both the conſuls of the year 670, from the building of Rome, having periſhed in the war which Sylla and his friends made againſt them, he notified to the ſenate, that, agreeably to the cuſtom of their anceſtors in ſuch caſes, they ſhould create an *interrex*, to hold the *comitia* for electing new conſuls. They named to that office the preſident of the ſenate, Lucius Valerius Flaccus; to whom Sylla wrote, and bade him report his opinion to the people, that the preſent ſtate of affairs required the appointment of a dictator; not for the term of ſix months, but till the whole Commonwealth, and every part of the empire, which the civil wars had ſhaken, ſhould be more firmly ſettled, and brought into better order; adding, at the

Appian. de Bello Civ. l. i.

the end of his letter, that, if the ſenate approved it, he offered himſelf to do the republick this ſervice. His offer was underſtood to be a command: he therefore was named dictator by the *interrex*, without any term being fixed for the expiration of his office; and thus (ſays Appian) *the dictatorſhip, which had before been a tyranny limited to a ſhort time, this reſtraint being taken off, became a tyranny compleat.*

Ibidem.

Nor yet was the dictator content with this indefinite prolongation of his power; but cauſed a law to be propoſed by the *interrex* to the people, which *ratified all his acts, whatever they might be; and authorized him to put to death, without a trial, any citizen of Rome, according to his pleaſure.*

Cicero, ſpeaking of this law, in one of his orations, calls it *the moſt unjuſt and the moſt unlike a law, that had ever been made*; and in his treatiſe *De Legibus*, conſiders it *as null and void in itſelf.* Yet to ſuch an extreme degree of ſervility were the people and ſenate reduced, that it was enacted without the leaſt oppoſition; and Sylla rewarded Flaccus for having been the propounder of it, by naming him to the dignity of his general of the horſe!

De Lege Agraria, contra Rullum, Orat. 17. De Legibus, l. i. c. 15.

Having thus, under the colour of a legal authority, aſſumed the moſt abſolute and enormous deſpotiſm, he made ſeveral laws for the ſettlement of the ſtate, chiefly tending to raiſe the power of the ſenate. This

was contrary to the policy of every other tyrant, who, either at Rome or elſewhere, had ever enſlaved a free country! But the ſpirit of party was ſtrong in Sylla's mind; and, as all his greateſt enemies had courted the people, he was led by reſentment, and by every connexion he had hitherto formed, to favour the nobles. In acting on this plan his principal object was, to reduce the authority of the tribunes of the people. But, before I take notice of what he did to that purpoſe, ſome account muſt be given of the nature and power of the tribunitial office.

About fifteen years after the expulſion of Tarquin, in the 260th year of Rome, the people obtained, by a treaty with the ſenate, that they ſhould, for the future, have magiſtrates of their own, whoſe perſons ſhould be deemed inviolably ſacred; and that no patrician ſhould be capable of holding this magiſtracy, which, by what was called *interceſſion*, had a power to protect them againſt any injuries from the conſuls or ſenate. The number of theſe magiſtrates, at their firſt inſtitution, was five, and continued ſo till the year of Rome 296, when it was augmented to ten, and never afterwards altered. They were annually choſen; and a law was made, in the year of Rome 282, that the elections ſhould be in the aſſembly of the people, not by centuries, but by tribes, from which the patricians were entirely excluded, and where, the loweſt of

Liv. l. ii. c. 33. Dionyſ. Halic. l. viii.

Liv. l. iii. c. 30.

L. ii. c. 56, 57.

the populace always making a majority, the ſenſe of the better ſort was little regarded. Soon after their firſt creation, the tribunes added to the power of protecting the people that of accuſing the nobles and judging them by the people, and of ſtopping, by a negative from any one of their number, any decree of the ſenate! Theſe points being gained notwithſtandſting all the force of a warm oppoſition on the part of the nobles, the tribunes in proceſs of time extended their authority to a right of propoſing any law to the people without the aſſent of the ſenate, and referring to them any buſineſs treated of in that houſe.

The exerciſe of theſe powers was carried on with a violence more reſembling the anarchy of a ſtate of war, than the orderly acts of regular magiſtrates in a well-ſettled commonwealth. Tiberius Gracchus, in the year of Rome 619, forbade any publick buſineſs to be carried on in the city, till, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of one of his colleagues, his Agrarian law had been propoſed to the people. He alſo ſealed up the door of the treaſury, that none of the quæſtors, who had the adminiſtration of the publick revenue, might enter into it; and ſtopped the prætors from performing the duty of their office in trying of cauſes, by threatening them with fines, till every obſtacle to his legiſlation from any other magiſtrate ſhould have been removed. In the year of Rome

Liv. l. lv. c. 2.

614,

614, the tribunes of the people contending for what they had no right to, that each of them ſhould have a power to exempt from the obligation of military ſervice ten citizens at his choice; and the conſuls of that year reſiſting the attempt; they ordered both thoſe ſupreme magiſtrates to be carried to priſon; which was accordingly done: an act, by which the whole majeſty of the conſular power, which repreſented the regal, was violated and deſtroyed. If ſuch exertions of the tribunitial power had been frequent, the government muſt have fallen into a mere democracy, or rather, indeed, into a tyrannical oligarchy in the perſons of the tribunes; but the adminiſtration of this power being divided, at firſt, between five perſons, and afterwards between ten, a check was uſually given to the extravagances of it, by the oppoſition of ſome one among thoſe magiſtrates to what the others propoſed: and to this, on many occaſions, the ſenate had recourſe, particularly in their conteſt with Tiberius Gracchus about his Agrarian laws, the paſſing of which they obſtructed by the interceſſion or negative of Marcus Octavius, one of his colleagues: nor could he any otherwiſe get over that obſtacle, than by cauſing the people to depoſe Octavius, if he would not deſiſt from that oppoſition which his magiſtracy gave him a right to make. This had never been done in any other inſtance, and was then conſidered by many

See Livy, l. ii. c. 44, l. iv. 48. l. vi. 35. 39. et al. Appian. Plutarch, Epitome libri lviii, Liv. Freinſhem. Supplem.

as an odious act of violence, which, for the purposes of a factious demagogue, flagrantly violated the sanctity given by the laws to the person of tribune, and tended to destroy the sacred power of that office by the people themselves. But Gracchus pleaded, with great force, the necessity of it, in order to prevent the betraying of the people, in points of the highest moment, by some of those very magistrates who were instituted to serve them. And it must be confest that the blame of this irregular act ought less to fall on him than on the bad constitution of the magistracy itself. As unanimity in all those invested therewith could seldom be hoped for, the only means of giving consistency to it, and carrying things on in a quiet and orderly course, would have been the deciding of all differences among them, by a majority of votes: but, each having a power, by his single opposition, to stop any act of his colleagues, the obstinacy of one was sufficient to obstruct any business; and that impediment could not be removed by any other method than depriving him of his office.

NOTES

NOTES on the preceding OBSERVATIONS.

P. 43. *And the uſual method was, for the ſenate to decree, upon any great exigency, that a dictator ſhould be made, and to direct on what perſon of conſular dignity the nomination ſhould fall.*

In relating the tranſactions of the year 318 from the building of Rome, Livy uſes theſe words, "Major itaque ex civibus amiſſis dolor, quam lætitia fuſis hoſtibus fuit; *et ſenatus (ut in trepidis rebus) dictatorem dici Mamercum Æmilium juſſit.*" See alſo other proofs of their exerciſing this power, which the ſame hiſtorian gives, l. iv. c. 46. Ann. Urb. Condit. 317. l. ix. c. 38. Ann. Urb. Condit. 444.

Yet we find that ſome conſuls did not think themſelves bound to obey ſuch an order: for (as Livy alſo informs us) in the year of Rome 324, the ſenate, alarmed at the extraordinary preparations of the Æqui and Volſci againſt the Roman ſtate, and ſtill more apprehenſive of bad conſequences from the diſcord between the two conſuls, who differed in all counſels the one from the other, recurred to the expedient of creating a dictator: but thoſe magiſtrates, ſo diſcordant in all other points, agreed in pertinaciouſly refuſing to name one: whereupon, as the danger, by new intelligences brought, ſeemed to be more and more dreadful, Quintus Servilius Priſcus, who, with great reputation, had held the higheſt dig- L. iv. c. 26.

nities of the commonwealth, applying himſelf to ſome of the tribunes of the people, who were preſent in the ſenate-houſe, told them, *the ſenate called upon them in that extremity to compell the conſuls, by their power, to name a dictator.*

There had never been a precedent, either of ſuch a refuſal on the part of the conſuls, or of ſuch an application on the part of the ſenate. The tribunes, glad of the opportunity to augment their power, after conſulting apart with all their colleagues, declared, *It was their pleaſure, that the conſuls ſhould obey the decree of the ſenate; and, if theſe ſhould perſiſt in a longer reſiſtance againſt it, they would ſend them to priſon.* The conſuls, chuſing (ſays Livy) to be overcome by the tribunes rather than by the ſenate, yielded to this command; but not without a proteſt againſt the injury done to the conſular power, which the ſenate thus betrayed. Nor yet could they agree which ſhould name the dictator, but ended the diſpute by caſting lots.

Liv. l. iv. c. 58. In the year of Rome 347, when the conſular office was exerciſed by three military tribunes, inſtead of two conſuls, theſe making a reſiſtance to a decree of the ſenate for creating a dictator, the tribunes of the people were again applied to by that body, for the aid of their power to force a compliance: but they, diſcontented at ſeeing the plebeians perpetually excluded, by the influence and intrigues of the patricians, from the military

tribuneſhip, to which, by law, they might attain, though not to the conſulſhip, ſullenly refuſed their aſſiſtance. Yet they ſaid, that, when all the dignities of the ſtate ſhould be, without diſtinction, communicated to the people, *they would then take good care that the decrees of the ſenate ſhould not be made ineffectual by any arrogance of the magiſtrates.* This reſource having failed, the contention was kept up between the ſenate and two of the military tribunes; who, thinking themſelves equal to the conduct of the war, complained "that the dignity they had obtained from the people, ſhould be thus taken from them:" but the third ſaid, "That hitherto he had remained ſilent, becauſe he rather deſired that his colleagues ſhould yield to the authority of the ſenate, without any force upon them, than ſuffer the power of the tribunes of the people to be implored againſt them. That even now he would willingly give them more time to alter their opinion, if the exigency of the ſtate could bear that delay; but, as the neceſſity of war would not wait for longer conſultations, he would prefer the ſervice of the publick to their good-will, and contenting himſelf with the ſole authority of the ſenate (whatever oppoſition might be made againſt it) would name a dictator that night." He did ſo; and this ſhews, that any one of the conſuls, or military tribunes, with conſular power, might name a dictator without the conſent of his colleague or colleagues: the

reaſon of which, doubtleſs, was, that the natural unwillingneſs in the mind of ſuch a magiſtrate, to make over to another the ſupreme command, would probably hinder its being unneceſſarily or wantonly done; but on many occaſions a contrary diſpoſition might be well apprehended; and the abſence of one conſul, or military tribune, on the publick ſervice abroad, might happen to diſappoint the deſire of the ſenate, if the concurrence of both conſuls, or of all the military tribunes, had been neceſſary to this act.

Livy, l. xxvii. c. 5. In the year of Rome 542, the ſenate decreed, that the conſul, before he went out of the city, *ſhould aſk the people whom they would be pleaſed to have him name dictator, and ſhould name the perſon they ordered*; adding, that, if the conſul refuſed to refer this matter to the people, the prætor ſhould do it; and, if the prætor would not, it ſhould be done by the tribunes. The conſul did refuſe, declaring that he would not conſult the people on a matter *which was in his own power*, and forbade the prætor to do it; whereupon it was done by the tribunes of the people; *and the people enacted, that Quintus Fulvius, who was then at Capua, ſhould be named dictator.* Quum conſul ſe populum rogaturum negâſſet, *quod ſuæ poteſtatis eſſet*, prætoremque vetuiſſet rogare; tribuni plebis rogârunt, *plebeſque ſcivit, ut Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator diceretur.*

I find

I find no other inſtance in the Roman hiſtory of the ſenate's ſubmitting to the will of the people the nomination of the perſon who ſhould be raiſed to this office.

The purpoſe of creating a dictator at this time was only that the comitia, or aſſembly of the people for electing the magiſtrates of the enſuing year, might be held by that officer, inſtead of one of the conſuls; it being neceſſary that both ſhould be abſent from Rome upon military ſervice, in their ſeveral provinces, when the aſſembly was held. The cauſe of referring the affair to the people, in this extraordinary manner, was a difference which aroſe between the ſenate and the conſul, M. Valerius Lævinus; the latter chuſing to name M. Valerius Meſſalla, who commanded the Roman fleet in Sicily, to which province he was going; and the fathers denying that a dictator could legally be named out of Italy. The diſpute was ended, in conſequence of the decree of the people, by the other conſul, Marcellus, being ſent for to Rome, and naming Quintus Fulvius agreeably to their order.

P. 43. "He tells us, that the ſenate reproaching the conſuls with a neglect of their duty, for not having exerted the authority of their charge, to puniſh a conſpiracy of the Roman knight, Spurius Mælius, with ſome tribunes of the people, againſt the commonwealth, one of them ſaid, *The blame*

blame laid on them was unjuſt: for they, being ſubject to the controul of the laws, which had given an appeal from them to the people, wanted ſtrength in their magiſtracy, more than they did in their minds, to inflict the vengeance due to a crime of this nature. That there was need of a man, not only couragcous, but moreover free, and not fettered with the reſtraints of the laws. He therefore would name Lucius Quintius dictator. The words of Livy are theſe: Tum Titus Quintius conſules immerito increpari ait, *qui conſtricti legibus, de provocatione ad diſſolvendum imperium latis, nequaquam tantum virium in magiſtratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandam, quantum animi, haberent. Opus eſſe non forti ſolum viro, ſed etiam libero, exſolutoque legum vinculis. Itaque ſe dictatorem Lucium Quintium dicturum.*"

Liv. l. iv. c. 13.

Theſe words ſeem entirely to overturn the opinion of ſome learned writers on the Roman hiſtory, that the law propoſed by the conſuls, Horatius and Valerius, in the year of Rome 306, eſtabliſhed a right of appealing to the people againſt the acts or decrees of a dictator. For, had this been true, it would have been the groſſeſt abſurdity for Livy to make T. Quintius, no more than ten years afterwards, (ann. U. C. 316) give it as a reaſon for naming a dictator, that the conſuls, *being ſubject to the laws of appeal*, had not ſtrength in their magiſtracy ſufficient for the exigency of the ſtate at that time. A magiſtrate *equally ſubject*

to the laws of appeal, could not have ſupplied the defect of power in them. But the hiſtorian ſays expreſsly, that the dictator was free from that reſtraint, *liber exſolutuſque legum vinculis*. Indeed it appears that the law of Horatius and Valerius had no reference to the dictatorial office, the object of it being to prevent the introduction of any new-invented magiſtracy, ſuch as the decemvirate had been, without the controul of an appeal to the people. Livy writes of it thus: "*Aliam deinde conſularem legem de provocatione, unicum præſidium libertatis, decemvirali poteſtate everſam, non reſtituunt modo, ſed etiam in poſterum muniunt, ſanciendo novam legem, Ne quis ullum magiſtratum ſine provocatione crearet: qui creâſſet, eum jus faſque eſſet occidi; neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.*" L. iii. c. 55. The dictatorſhip certainly was not a magiſtracy *created* after this law, having been eſtabliſhed long before, in the year of Rome 253 or 257. And what power the law *de dictatore creando* had originally given to it, the ſame hiſtorian informs us in the following words: "Creato dictatore primùm Romæ, poſtquam præferri ſecures viderunt, magnus plebem metus inceſſit, ut intentiores eſſent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in conſulibus, qui pari poteſtate eſſent, alterius auxilium, *neque provocatio erat, neque ullum uſquam, niſi in curâ parendi, auxilium.*" L. ii. c. 18. It was therefore a power without appeal, either to any other magiſtrate or to the people; a power againſt the terror of which the people had

had no help, but unreſiſting obedience. And this refutes the opinion of Algernon Sidney, who, in his celebrated Eſſay on Government, contends that when dictators are ſaid to have been *ſine provocatione*, it is only to be underſtood in relation to other magiſtrates, and not to the people; which, he ſays, "is "clearly proved in the caſe of Quintus "Fabius, whom Papirius, the dictator, "would have put to death: *Tribunos plebis "appello* (ſays Fabius's father,) *et provoco ad "populum: eumque tibi, fugienti exercitus tui, "fugienti ſenatus judicium, judicem fero, qui "certè unus plus quàm tua dictatura poteſt "polletque: videro ceſſuruſne provocationi ſis, "cui rex Romanus Tullus Hoſtilius ceſſit?"

P. 118.

Liv. l. viii. c. 33.

But, if we look to what followed (as the ſame hiſtorian relates it) we ſhall find that Papirius continued firm in aſſerting the majeſty of his office; and, though he ſpared the life of Fabius, at the interceſſion of the people, yet he took care to expreſs, that the offender was not ſaved by any reverſal or over-ruling of the ſentence which he had paſt againſt him, nor by any right in the tribunes, or in the people, to help him; but was given to their prayers. "Stupentes tri-"bunos, et ſuam jam vicem magis anxios, "quàm ejus, cui auxilium ab ſe petebatur, "liberavit onere conſenſus populi Romani "*ad preces et obteſtationem verſus, ut ſibi "pœnam magiſtri equitum dictator remitteret.* "Tribuni quoque *inclinatam rem in preces ſub-*

Liv. l. viii. c. 34, 35.

"*ſecuti,*

" *ſecuti, orare dictatorem inſiſtunt, ut veniam*
" *errori humano, veniam adoleſcentiæ Q. Fabii*
" *daret:* ſatis eum pœnarum dediſſe. Jam
" ipſe adoleſcens, jam pater M. Fabius, *con-*
" *tentionis obliti,* procumbere ad genua, et
" iram *deprecari* dictatoris. Tum dictator,
" ſilentio facto, Bene habet, inquit, Qui-
" rites: vicit diſciplina militaris; *vicit im-*
" *perii majeſtas:* quæ in diſcrimine fuerunt,
" an ulla poſt hunc diem eſſent. Non noxæ
" eximitur Q. Fabius, qui contra edictum
" imperatoris pugnavit; ſed noxæ damnatus,
" donatur populo Romano, donatur tribu-
" nitiæ poteſtati, precarium non juſtum
" auxilium ferenti."

From all this it appears, that no lawful authority in the tribunes or people of Rome delivered Q. Fabius from the ſentence pronounced by the dictatorial power. He was only ſaved becauſe they *ſupplicated* for him; and their *ſupplications* themſelves were a very ſufficient proof *that no appeal lay to them.* They might indeed (as the right of making laws was in them, eſpecially with the conſent of the ſenate) have paſſed a law *(plebiſcitum)* to reſtrain the dictatorial power from acting againſt Fabius, as they afterwards did paſs one, in favour of Minucius, to render the power of the maſter of the horſe equal to that of the dictator: for laws may be made repugnant to the principles of any conſtitution by an abuſe of the legiſlative authority in thoſe to whom it is

Liv. l. xxii. c. 25.

truſted: and this, it ſeems, was what Papirius apprehended; but he firmly maintained the conſtitutional power belonging to his office, of judging in this caſe without the controul of any appeal to them; and this independency, aſſerted by him, they in effect acknowledged, when they had recourſe to entreaties againſt the execution of his decree, inſtead of reverſing it, or ſtopping its effect, by any act of theirs.

CONSI-

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE PRESENT

STATE OF OUR AFFAIRS,

AT

HOME AND ABROAD.

IN A

LETTER to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,
from a Friend in the Country.

A

LETTER

TO A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,

FROM A

FRIEND in the COUNTRY.

SIR,

I AM a private gentleman of ſome property in the county of ——, and voted for you at the election of this parliament. I voted for you neither as a whig nor a tory; but as a gentleman, whom I believed to be in the intereſt of my country. For this reaſon only I preferred you to your competitor, and *gave* you the vote I might have *ſold* to him. Since that time I have heard with pleaſure of your conduct, and find no reaſon to repent of my choice. You ſerve me well in parliament, and I do not deſire to be ſerved by you *any where elſe*. I have

never ſolicited, I never will ſolicit you, though you ſhould come to have a better intereſt at court, for any of *thoſe little places*, which ſeem of late to have been multiplied, only to anſwer the demands of men in my ſituation, as far as poſſible, upon thoſe in yours; and which are become almoſt the *only ſubject of correſpondence* between members of parliament and their *friends in the country*. You will therefore permit me to take the liberty now of correſponding with you on another foot, and after four years ſilence to remind you a little of what I have a right to expect from you as my repreſentative. The importance of the conjuncture will excuſe my preſumption. It is not difficult for us now to ſpeak upon theſe matters: they are brought ſo home to our minds, they are made ſo plain to our ſenſes, that we cannot be doubtful what opinion to form. It is hardly neceſſary to *reaſon*; it is enough to *feel*. There is a time, when wrong and miſchievous meaſures may be diſguiſed; but there is a time too when they will diſcover themſelves. While the evil ſeeds are ſowing, thoſe alone are alarmed, who have penetration enough to ſee things in their cauſes; but when they are grown up, and the fruits appear, the groſs of mankind have capacity to judge, and ſpirit to complain. This, Sir, is the circumſtance of the people of England. They ſuffer too much to be amuſed: and if they continue to ſuffer, it will not be from

error, or inſenſibility, but from ſuch cauſes as I do not care to ſuppoſe. There is reaſon to hope that their complaints will be redreſſed; and in that hope I write this letter to you. I ſhall propoſe to your conſideration ſome particular points, which, we in the country think, ſhould make the buſineſs of this ſeſſion; and if you agree to my reaſonings, I dare promiſe myſelf, you will not afterwards *differ from them in your conduct*.

Sir, we are a trading nation; and whatever affects our trade is our neareſt concern, and ought to be our principal care.

Of all the branches of our commerce that to our own colonies is the moſt valuable upon many accounts. If I am rightly informed, it is by *that alone* we are enabled now to carry on the reſt. And as it is the moſt uſeful to us, ſo for many reaſons it naturally ought to be *the moſt ſecure*. Foreign markets may be loſt or ſpoilt by various accidents; other nations may get in, and carry commodities that may be preferred to ours; or, by working cheaper, may be able perhaps to underſell us *there*. And by theſe means I am afraid we have found our trade decline conſiderably in many parts of the world. But in our own plantations nothing of this can happen. The trade we have there is engroſſed by ourſelves; all other nations are excluded from it, and we carry it on under ſuch regulations as are moſt for our advantage. In conſequence of which, it is

the nurſery of our ſeamen, the ſupport of our navigation, and the life of our manufacturers.

But of late years our merchants paſſing to and from our colonies have been ſtopt, examined, plundered, and abuſed, by the Spaniards, our ſhips confiſcated, and our ſeamen enſlaved, ſo that the navigation thither is become ſo dangerous, that, if an effectual ſtop be not ſoon put to theſe practices, this moſt beneficial commerce will be utterly loſt. The original ſource of them is a right of Sovereignty which the Spaniards arrogate to themſelves in the American ſeas; a claim that has always been treated with deriſion and ſcorn by every power in Europe, and particularly by us who were really maſters of thoſe ſeas, from the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, down to the weak one of King Charles the Second. And this claim of Spain is ſtill ſo far from being owned by us, that though it *be a ſecret motive*, they have not *yet* had the inſolence to avow it openly as *the cauſe* of their proceedings. But they treat every Britiſh ſhip, which they are able to maſter, as if the ſailing only in thoſe ſeas was a ſufficient cauſe of confiſcation. They have ſeized and condemned outward-bound ſhips, above a hundred leagues from any ſhore, without any pretence at all; and where they are graciouſly pleaſed to aſſign pretences for their depredations, *thoſe pretences are worſe than the depredations themſelves.*

ſelves. They pretend that every ſhip, which has *log-wood*, *cocoa-nuts*, or *pieces of eight* aboard, is lawful prize. Now two of theſe grow in our own colonies; and the South-ſea company, by the Aſſiento contract, furniſh the Spaniards with Negroes, which they pay for in pieces of eight; and as the principal market for theſe Negroes is Jamaica, this occaſions the circulating a great deal of that ſpecie there: ſo that we might with full as good reaſon ſtop the ſhips of Spain in their paſſage by Jamaica, or our other plantations, and confiſcate them formally, if we find aboard of them either *log-wood*, *cocoa-nuts*, or *pieces of eight*; for this will juſt as well prove, that *they* have been trading with *our colonies*, as our having ſuch goods aboard can prove that *we* have been trading with *theirs*. And their manner of trial is a mockery of juſtice, which would be highly *ridiculous*, if the effects of it were not ſo *terrible*. The cauſe is tried in their own courts in America, a Spaniſh advocate is to plead for our merchants, and the judges themſelves almoſt always ſhare in the prize. The conſequence of this is, that every ſhip which is taken by them muſt be confiſcated.

But ſuppoſing, for argument's ſake, that all thoſe ſpecies of goods, upon which ſentence is paſt by this moſt righteous judicature, were undeniable proofs, of an *illicit trade*; on what ground of the law of nations, or by what article of any treaty, have the

Spaniards a right *to ſtop or ſearch our ſhips at all?* Where a general trade is allowed, one ſpecies of goods may be prohibited; as, for inſtance, wool, or fullers earth; and the exporting it may be highly penal: but did this country ever pretend, when her naval power was at the height, to ſtop ſhips *out at ſea*, in order to ſearch whether ſuch commodities were aboard? would the little republick of Genoa endure our doing it? could any thing leſs than a conqueſt bring her to ſubmit to it? But the doing it in America is much leſs defenſible. For where no general trade is allowed, no one particular ſpecies of goods can be more *prohibited* than another, and *the ſearching there* has no object at all, and no foundation in reaſon. All the rules therefore laid down in the treaty of 1667, between England and Spain, concerning the method of ſearching for prohibited goods, are plainly confined to Europe, where a general trade is allowed; and have no relation to America, where all trade is forbid. For in the one caſe they may be neceſſary, but in the other they muſt be uſeleſs. And it is much to be wiſhed, that this moſt manifeſt diſtinction *had been better underſtood by our miniſters* in their treating with Spain; and that, by inſiſting on articles which are not to our purpoſe, they had not weakened thoſe by which our rights are ſecured. The ground on which thoſe rights ſtand is the law of nations, which eſtabliſhes a freedom of navigation

tion to all, and conſiders the ſea as an univerſal benefit, not a particular property or dominion of one. There is no nation *ſo powerful*, none *ſo proud* in the world, as directly to deny this maxim; there is none *ſo weak*, none *ſo abject*, as to give it up. We have been ſo far from departing from it by treaty, that in all thoſe we have made concerning America it is expreſsly ſtipulated, and indubitably confirmed, particularly in that of 1670; which declares that *the freedom of navigation ought by no manner of means to be interrupted*, and makes no other exception to this general rule, than a reciprocal prohibition to both nations in America, to come *into* the ports and havens of the other *to trade there*; for in caſes of diſtreſs, or neceſſity, the ſame treaty allows, that *they may come into them*, and ought to be kindly received. As to our ſailing *near their coaſts*, it is not only permitted, but it is of abſolute neceſſity in the courſe of our voyage to and from our own plantations in America: *how near* we ſhall go to them, it is impoſſible to fix, becauſe it depends upon circumſtances we cannot command, as winds and tides; but *very near* we muſt go frequently; and they reciprocally muſt go near to ours. No treaty therefore has ever ſettled any bounds, except the ports and havens of either crown in America, within which it ſhall not be lawful to ſail; nor can they be ſettled, ſo as not

to be liable to *infinite difficulties* and *endleſs chicane*.

It remains then certain, that, in reaſon and juſtice, by the law of nations, and by all our treaties, the way to and from our own dominions in America is as free as the paſſage between London and Briſtol; and that Spain has no more right to ſtop and ſearch our ſhips in the ſeas of America, than in the *Britiſh* channel.

Indeed this practice of *ſearching* is ſo very inexcuſable, that it cannot be ſupported upon any notion of right. Nothing can warrant it, but ſuperior force, and the famous argument of Brennus, *Væ victis!* All ſorts of miſchiefs muſt ariſe from admitting it, or from merely ſuffering it, as we have ſadly experienced; and no one inconvenience can attend its being denied. Were our ſhips found trading in the *Spaniſh* ports and havens themſelves, even in that caſe, though they ought to be *confiſcated*, it is a great abſurdity to ſuppoſe they ſhould be *ſearched*. For as the ſhip and cargo, be it what it will, is forfeited by our being there without diſtreſs or neceſſity, to what intent or purpoſe is *a ſearch* to be made after any particular ſpecies we may have aboard? But upon this pretence to ſtop our ſhips on the high ſeas, is *to inſult our underſtanding, and deſpiſe our power*, as well as to infringe our rights, and to deſtroy our trade.

Thus

Thus for ſome years things have gone on from bad to worſe; England complaining and remonſtrating, Spain chicaning and inſulting; ſatisfaction ſometimes refuſed, ſometimes promiſed, never given: our negotiations and our loſſes always continuing, and *encreaſing almoſt in the ſame proportion:* at laſt our merchants, weary of theſe uſeleſs methods, applied *a third time* to parliament, and petitioned there for redreſs. In the courſe of their examination it appeared too plain, that we had been treated by Spain with the utmoſt injuſtice, the utmoſt barbarity, and the utmoſt contempt; and that no one effectual ſtep had been taken, to procure reparation of our loſſes, ſatisfaction to our honour, or ſecurity for our trade. It appeared indeed, that, as far as *writing* would go, our miniſtry had tried to put a ſtop to theſe inſults. They had ſpared no pains, they had ſpared *no paper*. Memorials, repreſentations to the court of Spain, had been as frequent, and as little minded, as the orders and cedulas ſent from thence, in behalf of our merchants, to the Spaniſh tribunals and governors in America. Neither produced any effect, but to encreaſe the depredations, augment our ſufferings, and amuſe the ſufferers. Nay, though in conſequence of a treaty with Spain, in which we ſerved her *more perhaps than we could juſtify*, commiſſaries were appointed to adjuſt theſe differences, and obtain reſtitution for our loſſes, as a return for *favours received*, though they

continued

continued negotiating for ſome years in Spain, though much was promiſed from this commiſſion, yet it does not appear that any body got by it, *but the commiſſaries themſelves.*

Upon the proof of all this, it was the ſenſe of parliament, that more effectual meaſures ought to be purſued. And to enable his majeſty to take them, great ſupplies were voted, great armaments made; the whole nation expected and deſired a war, if ſuch a peace could not be gained, as would retrieve our honour, and ſecure our trade. Soon after the parliament roſe, the war appeared inevitable: ſtrong fleets were fitted out, and ſent to Spain and the Indies: this could not be done without a vaſt expence, great obſtruction to our trade, and hardſhips on our ſailors. Yet ſuch was the ſpirit of the people, ſuch their reſentment at the indignities put upon the king and nation, that they came into it chearfully; and not a murmur was heard, unleſs againſt the Spaniards. I believe it will be difficult to find a period in hiſtory, when this nation was ſo univerſally and ſo eagerly bent upon a war, as at that time. They had a juſt abhorrence, and a juſt *diſdain*, of the Spaniards; nor did *thoſe*, who are known to judge the beſt of foreign affairs, apprehend any danger, *at that criſis*, from any *other more formidable* power; ſo that all concluded we ſhould act *with vigour*, when it was more than probable we might act *with ſucceſs*: and the effort we had made,

the

the force we had raiſed, was very ſufficient to give us a ſuperiority in ſo juſt a quarrel, a quarrel in which all nations trading to America had an equal intereſt and a *common cauſe* with England: it was now believed our adminiſtration would ſhew, that their former remiſſneſs did not proceed from fear, or negligence; but that they curbed their ſpirit till *the point of time* when they might be ſure to exert it with *deciſive advantages*. This their friends gave out, and candid men were willing to think; eſpecially as it was ſaid, that *one great perſon* had declared, he thought it for the intereſt of a miniſter, to have war rather than peace. But, in the heighth and warmth of theſe expectations, while all Europe was intent on the motions and operations of our fleets, we heard of a convention being ſigned, and that we might expect a ſpeedy accommodation of our differences by a peace.

Of the terms of this convention, you will, no doubt, be appriſed at the meeting of the parliament; and then you will judge, whether it is proportionate to the charge we have been at, the opportunity we have neglected, the wrongs we have ſuſtained, the ſatisfaction and ſecurity we have a right to expect.

I only beg leave to mark out to you *two principal points*, upon which I think you cannot miſtake in forming your judgement. If we make a peace, it ought to be ſuch, as *will remove*, in the moſt effectual manner, both

both the *cauſe*, and *pretence*, of the injuries done us by the Spaniſh nation.

Now *the pretence* for them has been ſolely this, that they claim a right of ſtopping and ſearching our ſhips, on the high ſeas, or near their own coaſts; which claim of theirs is unſupported by treaty, and directly repugnant to the law of nations, to the rights of our crown, and the freedom of our navigation. If therefore we clearly aſſert, that *they have no ſuch right*; that where we have *no trade* with them, there can be *no probibited goods*; that we have a liberty to ſail *as nigh* to their coaſts as the courſe of our voyage, the convenience of winds and tides, and other circumſtances of navigation, may require; that, in purſuing that courſe, our ſhips *are not to be ſearched* or *ſtopt* on any account; that, *in caſes of neceſſity*, they may even *enter their ports*, and that only in caſe of *trading there* they are to be ſeized; if we expreſsly aſſert *all this* in our treaty of peace, it may be a ſecure and laſting one, and deſerves well the ſanction of parliament.

But if we leave this *looſe*, or if we admit of *any limits*, within which *a ſearch may be made on any pretence*, we have yielded every thing; we have no ſecurity, all will be ſubject to diſpute and chicane; we ſhall have the ſame weary round to run, of applications to Madrid, references from thence to the Weſt-Indies, and from the Weſt-Indies to Madrid again; and, after the ſolemn hearing

of

of our wrongs in parliament, after laying open all our wounds to the view of the world, after declarations of right, and lofty threats of reſentment, after millions ſpent, we ſhall be in a worſe condition, than we ever have been yet by any former treaty; or than we ſhould have been, if we had taken no notice of the complaints of our merchants, and not moved in them at all.

As to the other point, *the cauſe* of all theſe injuries, I take it to have been the contempt this nation is fallen into, from what unhappily may have ſeemed to our enemies a deſpicable tameneſs and puſillanimity in our conduct. How far this has gone, I am aſhamed to ſay. Thoſe, who to inſult us could not preſume on their own ſtrength, by long obſerving, or ſuppoſing they obſerved, a weakneſs in our councils, have come to ſuppoſe it in the nation itſelf; and on this preſumption they became as arrogant, as they imagined England to be timid and weak. They have certainly acted as if they thought we were *the meaneſt of nations*, or that *the meaneſt of miniſters* had conducted our affairs. This prejudice therefore muſt be removed, or we ſhall continue to ſuffer, as much as we have done, and ſtill more: for, where impunity is certain, inſolence knows no bounds. If the peace we make does not retrieve our reputation, it is impoſſible it can laſt, for *it may be broke without fear*. Spain can have no reaſon to keep it, unleſs it is made

made on ſuch terms, as to convince her that the temper and ſpirit of our court is changed; and that we will bear no longer what we have borne ſo long. Should any article of it be *diſhonourable* or *mean*, though all the reſt were advantageous, that alone would be fatal, becauſe it would leave us expoſed to endleſs inſults and affronts, the certain conſequence of a ſtain imprinted on our national character. Reputation is to a people, juſt what credit is to a merchant. The firſt depends on an opinion of ſtrength, as the latter does on an opinion of opulence. But that opinion of opulence is a real advantage, that opinion of ſtrength is a real ſecurity. When a contrary notion prevails in the caſe of the merchant, when his credit is hurt, there comes a run upon him ſuddenly, and, by being thought inſufficient, he becomes ſo in reality. The ſame thing may happen to a nation, from the loſs of character. An opinion of its weakneſs may encourage enemies, may unite them againſt it in a ſudden attack, may diſhearten its friends, and leave it deſtitute of ſuccour. All which might have been prevented, had due care been taken to ſupport the opinion of its ſtrength by a ſpirited conduct. I hope attention will be had to this in our peace with Spain, and that we ſhall on no account yield to any thing *ſcandalous*, but ſeek reparation to our honour, as well as to our merchants. And I dare anſwer for *them*, that, great as their loſſes are, they had rather endure them without any compenſation, than have it made

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in a way that may be diſgraceful to their country. Sure I am, it would be better for *them* to loſe their money, or for *us* to pay it out of our own pockets, than, for the ſake of retribution to them, to admit of a treaty, in which the ſecurity of our commerce is not firmly eſtabliſhed, beyond a poſſibility of all future cavils, by expreſs declarations of our right *not to be ſearched*. For to admit of ſuch a treaty, would be no leſs an abſurdity than *to be bribed with our own money to our own undoing*.

In theſe plain lights, Sir, I hope you will conſider this convention, when it ſhall be laid before you in the courſe of the ſeſſion. You will not, I dare ſay, ſuffer yourſelf to be amuſed with nice diſtinctions, and refinements of policy. You will remember how uſeleſs, nay, how fatal, all theſe ſubtilties have hitherto proved, and what they are likely to produce. You will deſire to ſee a treaty, which ſhall not be *the beginning*, but *the end, of negotiation*; which ſhall ſpeak ſo plain, that every Engliſh country-gentleman, and every Spaniſh governor in the Indies, ſhall underſtand the ſenſe of it, as well as the *Walpoles* and *La Quadras*.

You will not be ſatisfied with a preſent compliance, and temporary expedients, which are only patch-work; nor refer that to commiſſaries, which requires inſtant diſpatch; nor ſuffer that to be argued which is inconteſtable; but demand a ſolid and a durable peace,

peace, founded on real ſecurity, and expreſs acknowledgment of all thoſe rights that have been queſtioned by Spain, either with regard to our commerce, or *to our poſſeſſions.* For nothing leſs than this *will ſatisfy the nation.*

And when this is done, you will conſider of the methods, how to turn this peace to the beſt advantage, and ſecure it effectually for the time to come. The only way of doing that, Sir, is, to put the nation *in a condition to be feared*; and this can only be done, by reducing its debt, and gradually leſſening its taxes.

It is a melancholy thought, that ſo much time ſhould have been loſt from this neceſſary work, ſince it has been in our power. I believe it could be proved almoſt to a demonſtration, that, ever ſince the peace of Utrecht, we might have attended to it conſtantly, without the leaſt interruption from our neighbours abroad, who had no deſire to diſturb us till within theſe few years paſt, when, notwithſtanding *great compliances* on our ſide, the hoſtilities of Spain have loudly called for our reſentment. In all our quarrels during the late reign, though it can no more be doubted that *the intereſt of England* was the only point conſidered, than that Bremen and Verden *were never thought of in them*; yet how far *that intereſt* was rightly underſtood by us, is not quite ſo clear. To ſome it appears we had no grounds for quarrelling, no more than we had upon other occaſions for negotiating;

and that we might better have been quiet, if ſuch active abilities, as ſome of our miniſters were endowed with, could have been content to repoſe. But the entering lightly into wars and alliances, in which we had no concern, or a very diſtant one at moſt, if it was the fault, was not the only fault, of our government.

Thoſe who cannot ſee into the depth of our policy, and the inſcrutable wiſdom of our councils, may be apt to think, that we have been no leſs faulty in our way of *managing peace*, in our neglect of uſing the advantages attending it, and in finding the ſecret, by an unaccountable conduct, to make it *as expenſive*, and *as ruinous*, as war: that we have *purchaſed diſhonour* at *as dear a rate*, as we did glory in ſome former reigns: that this has continued, this has fixed upon us, the difficulties, which, with tolerable management, ought to have been conquered long ago: and that to this it is owing, not to King William or Queen Anne, if we are a diſtreſt and a declining nation. Had it not been for this, ſay they, we have had leiſure enough to pay off great part of our debt, and to encreaſe the ſinking fund to ſuch an annual ſum, as would enable the government to maintain our dignity, without waſting our ſubſtance. Had *that* been done, we had been now *a mighty* people, eaſy at home, and formidable abroad. And though we had no diſputes with Spain, yet, on other accounts,

it would be highly desirable for us to be *in those circumstances*, rather than in a state of indigence, which must be a state of fear. For though by reason of some lucky circumstances at this juncture we have no cause to apprehend any instant danger from France, those who look forwards at all have very dreadful apprehensions. The Empire is already open to her by Alsace and Lorraine; and there has been a terrible alarm, that it may soon be so by Luxembourgh. The weakness of the Low Countries is apparent to every body; and God knows how soon they may be made a sacrifice either to *the friendship* or the arms of France. If the power of that crown in former times had equalled its ambition, Europe had been lost; if its ambition now shall equal its power, it will probably accomplish what it then designed. And bad is our condition, when our fate is to depend on a spirit of conquest not prevailing in that court!

They have wisely been doing what we ought to have done. They have, by œconomy, by attention to trade, by easing their people, and husbanding well the money they raise, laid such foundations for their future greatness, that, if an enterprising minister should succeed to *this*, he will find advantages, which his greatest predecessors, Richlieu, Mazarin, Colbert, Louvois, never had; and will have reason to expect a much more glorious success. What may then be the circumstances

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of that kingdom, and *this?* On one ſide, mortgaged revenues, credit ſunk at home and abroad, an exhauſted, diſpirited, diſcontented people: on the other, a rich and popular government, ſtrong in alliances, in reputation, in the confidence and affection of its ſubjects. Will the conteſt be equal between *theſe two powers?* and what an aggravation is it to the pain of this thought, to reflect how eaſily we might have been in a condition to ſave ourſelves and Europe from this danger and fear; if, for theſe twelve years paſt (to go no higher), our debt had decreaſed in proportion to the means that have been in our hands, and no greater expence had been incurred by the * government than the real neceſſity of affairs required! We might then have ſpoke to France with as much authority as becomes this nation in the common cauſe, eſpecially if we had taken any care at the ſame time to ſet ourſelves at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt, which is our natural poſt, and has on former occaſions given great advantages as well as luſtre to the crown of England. Had we purſued theſe meaſures, we ſhould now have nothing to dread; by purſuing them ſteadily, we may yet be ſafe, we may yet be conſiderable, we may yet hold the balance of

* Had the ſinking fund been duly applied ſince the year 1727 to the payment of the national debt, at leaſt twelve millions might have been paid off: the ſinking fund would then produce at 4 *per cent.* little leſs than two millions, and (were intereſt reduced to 3 *per cent.*) conſiderably more. Upon ſuch a bottom as this, we might well maintain a new French war.

Europe. But till a wiſer adminiſtration ſhall reſtore our affairs, little dignity, or vigour, is to be expected in our councils. Some *appearance of vigour* may perhaps be maintained; but it will impoſe on nobody; no, *not on ourſelves*. To think that keeping up, at a vaſt expence, great fleets and armies, with a reſolution not to employ them, can ſecure our reputation, is as groſs a miſtake, as if, in private life, a gentleman, known to be in debt, and not diſpoſed to clear himſelf, ſhould think to cheat his creditors, and ſupport his credit, by encreaſing his equipage, making ſumptuous entertainments, and beggaring his family with new debts and mortgages.

It is ſcarce to be computed what it has coſt this nation *in well-equipt* fleets, and *well-dreſt* troops, for ſome years paſt; and I ſhould be glad to be told (bating the fineneſs of the ſhew) what uſe they have been of to us either at home or abroad. They give, to be ſure, an air of magnificence; but then it is well known, that we owe almoſt fifty millions, and have been forced to apply the ſinking fund, not to diſcharge that debt, but *to furniſh out theſe ſhews*.

In moſt parts of England, gentlemens rents are ſo ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies ſo heavy upon them, that thoſe who have nothing from the court can ſcarce ſupport their families; and thoſe in place are hardly ſavers on the account, if what they give be balanced againſt what they receive. There

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are indeed ſome rich people, who have money in the funds; and out of tenderneſs to *them* I ſuppoſe it was, that when intereſt was naturally and apparently fallen to three *per cent.* the national debt was ſtill continued at four; by which the publick has loſt millions, and ſuch an opportunity as it may not again be in our power to retrieve.

Yet, if peace ſhould be ſettled on a durable foot, I hope *the worthy gentleman*, who, two years ago, propoſed the reduction of intereſt, will renew his motion; and that it will not be *mended* ſo as to be *leſs eligible*, and then objected to, and *thrown out by the amenders.* I hope too care will be taken, that, when the ſcheme ſhall have its effect, reduction of intereſt *and taxes* ſhall go hand in hand; and that the ſinking fund ſo encreaſed ſhall not be left at the diſpoſition of a miniſter, but applied in part to take off ſome of the duties, which are ſuch a load on induſtry, and ſo dangerous to freedom.

All theſe particulars, Sir, deſerve your ſerious attention. We expect to find we have *a peace*, not by his majeſty's ſpeech alone, and the congratulatory compliments of both houſes of parliament (which, during all our late ſufferings, and the hoſtilities of Spain, have been annually made with great encomiums on his meaſures); but by *the fruits of peace*, a conſiderable leſſening of our expences, and relief to the people at whoſe charge it was gained.

We may yet recover, low as we are, with good management. To make *a great ſtate little*, is not ſo difficult indeed as to make *a little one great:* yet it is not to be done immediately; and with all the ſkill *ſome* have ſhewn in endeavouring it here, it will require ſtill more time to ſink us ſo, as that, *with the help of friends*, we may not riſe again. The natural ſtrength of this nation is great, its reſources great, and in one reſpect greater than ever, becauſe, the funds *having been tried*, and found *ſufficient*, the borrowing on them again, when our debt is reduced, would be ſecure and eaſy. To reduce it therefore ought to be the principal object of all who meddle with our publick affairs. We ſhall judge of all your other virtues now by your frugality. The beſt œconomiſt for the publick will be the beſt member of parliament, the beſt counſellor of ſtate, and the beſt miniſter. I do not know how it has happened; but, for ſome time paſt, an ignorant country-gentleman might be almoſt provoked to ſay, that *our phlegm* has ſhewn itſelf only in *bearing affronts*, and *our ſpirit* only in *ſquandering away the publick money*. I ſuppoſe we ſhall now have no occaſion to ſhew our fire; but we ſhall have great occaſion for a reſerved and cautious temper. Let this operate in the granting of money, in a conſtant refuſing of new powers to the crown, and watching over the uſe of thoſe already granted. Above all, beware

of new additions to the civil list. It is a strange circumstance, and will not sound so well to posterity, that while the publick loses in so many articles, so many gains have been of late made to the crown; that when every gentleman's estate is falling in value, the estate of the crown should be so much increased, that, if we were to purchase it back with fifty thousand pounds *per ann. more than it was given for*, we should save by the bargain. I will just take notice how great profits have accrued to the civil list upon the gin-bill only. All that had been gained by the highest amount of the duties on spirits, that is, by the highest excess of the evil designed to be reformed, was made up to his majesty out of the aggregate fund, by way of compensation for the loss he should sustain *upon saving the lives of many thousands of his subjects*. At the same time all he might gain by the encrease of the brewery and by that of the wine license duty (which together cannot be *less*, and ought to be reckoned at *more*, than an equal proportion to the decrease on the spirits*) is, by the bounty of this act, preserved to him entire, and without account. So that *the preventing a national mischief*, of so destructive a nature, that, rather than suffer it to continue, the legislature was forced to ruin many particulars, and griev-

* The share of the civil list upon foreign spirits is about $\frac{2}{9}$; upon home spirits about $\frac{1}{3}$; upon beer and ale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

ouſly hurt our ſugar colonies, has *(no doubt to the comfort of the ſufferers)* been ſo happily managed, that it may prove an advantage to the civil liſt of ſeventy thouſand pounds a year, and probably more. I would only obſerve, that, if our other popular vices could be turned as much to account as the drinking of ſpirits has been, the eſtate of the king of England would be more a gainer *by the ſins of the people*, than the exchequer of the pope.

But there is another article I muſt not paſs over in ſilence, becauſe it may probably come before the houſe this ſeſſion; and that is, that his majeſty has been, and ſtill is, in poſſeſſion of 50,000 l. *per ann.* which moſt people think was deſigned by parliament for the prince of Wales, over and above the fifty which he now enjoys. It ſeems evident to me, by all I have heard, and read upon this ſubject, that the parliament which gave the civil liſt could not intend, that his majeſty ſhould retain for himſelf any part of this hundred thouſand pounds a year; ſince, ſuppoſing the prince to have *it all*, and allowing his majeſty to ſpend one hundred thouſand pounds a year extraordinary in *penſions*, *bounties*, *ſecret-ſervice money*, &c. he will ſtill have, for the ſupport of his houſehold, a revenue equal to that of the late king. The expence of his family has been *unhappily* leſſened, ſince the conſideration of this matter in parliament, by no leſs a ſaving than

than *the whole ſum in diſpute*; and as for the charge which remains, it will be abundantly ſupplied out of ſo large an income as ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year, with the great additional profits ariſing from the gin-bill, crown land, plantation rents, and other ariicles commonly known by the name of *licks*, &c. So that if the prince has not the fifty thouſand pounds *per annum*, which I apprehend he has a right to from the intention of parliament out of the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand enjoyed by his majeſty (excluſive of the profits on the articles abovementioned); if, I ſay, this be not given to him, upon the birth of two children, and the hopes of a third, it certainly ought *to be returned to the publick*. If his royal highneſs has it, it will not indeed be *loſt to the publick*; it is like to circulate freely, and the poor will have their ſhare of it; but, as I am arguing now upon a principle of *ſaving*, I muſt needs ſay, *the nation wants it*, and the royal family *all together has enough*. Let the wealth of our princes always encreaſe with that of their people: let them ſhare the fruits of every publick bleſſing, of every benefit derived to us from their government: but to have *them rich*, while *we are poor*, is, methinks, both an indecency and a weakening of one ſtrong motive to them for governing with a conſtant regard to the proſperity of their ſubjects.

Sir, from what I have ſaid to recommend œconomy, I would not have you imagine any

any argument can be drawn, to defend a bad and diſhonourable peace, ſhould it appear that ſuch a one has been made with Spain. To make all proper ſavings, is the duty of our miniſters; but an acquieſcence under wrongs and inſults is not œconomy: an acquieſcence that may coſt us millions is not œconomy: an acquieſcence that may ruin our trade, the only ſource of our riches, is not œconomy: it is not œconomy to neglect an opportunity of doing ourſelves juſtice at a cheaper rate than we can hope to obtain it for in any future conjuncture. It can never be admitted, that, becauſe peace is *cheaper* than war, and becauſe it is good to ſave money, therefore *any terms* of peace are to be gladly received rather than to make war *with any advantages:* and I ſhall leſs admit it *here*, becauſe we have already borne an expence, which, if rightly managed, might have been ſufficient to have procured us victory, and, the fruit of victory, peace.

Sir, there is another way of reaſoning, ſimilar to this, which I foreſee, and which beforehand I beg leave to warn you againſt: That, becauſe we ought to have great apprehenſions of the growing power of France, if we go on ourſelves as we have done of late, and ſuffer *them* to go on to take advantage of our conduct, therefore we are to ſubmit to all the injuſtice of Spain, and give up the rights we are moſt concerned to ſupport, for

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fear that France ſhould declare againſt us in the war.

I have ſaid before, it ſeems highly improbable, *that court* ſhould engage in ſuch a meaſure, *at this time*, from the preſent ſtate of their government, and the unſettled condition which any change might put it in to for ſome years to come. But ſuppoſing the worſt that is poſſible to ſuppoſe, ſuppoſing we knew that France would ſide againſt us with Spain; even in that caſe, I think it is reaſoning wrong, it is reaſoning with regard to the preſent day alone, to make *that* an argument for accepting a peace upon diſadvantageous and diſhonourable terms. For if we are really fallen into ſuch a ſtate, that, when any power in Europe ſhall think fit to inſult and injure us, and we take up arms to defend ourſelves, France will interpoſe, and, without any regard to her alliance and the juſtice of our cauſe, *inſiſt on our giving up our rights*, or elſe declare herſelf *our enemy*; if this is our ſituation, it is an *an extremity*, which we muſt *fight ourſelves out of as well* and *as ſoon as we can*. For what can we expect by delaying it longer, but to draw on farther inſults, farther wrongs, farther contempt; to be treated on all occaſions *as a province to France:* to be daily weakened more and more by the incroachments of all our neighbours upon every branch of our trade; and to be at laſt devoured without the means of reſiſtance, when all our friends *are*

aſhamed

aſhamed of us, and when a long *ſtate of dependency* ſhall have ſunk our courage, and prepared our minds, to endure the infamy of a *foreign yoke?* But we have the ſtrongeſt grounds to think that our affairs are not ſo deſperate. France is no party concerned in this diſpute with Spain; and the preſent genius of that court is, not to engage without neceſſity in any quarrel which muſt coſt her a war. She may perhaps deſire to mediate, and mediate partially; but it is in the power of England to refuſe that mediation: ſhe may ſpeak in an unfriendly, or perhaps an angry, ſtyle; but we have profited little by a great deal of experience, if we have not learnt, that there is a wide diſtance *between talking angrily* and *declaring war*. It ſeems evident upon the whole, that what we ought to apprehend, is not an immediate, but a future danger from France; and the care of the legiſlature ſhould extend to *that*, not by approving a peace, which may deſerve to be cenſured, but by attending to things, which, either in war or peace, are of extreme importance to the ſtrength of the kingdom, and therefore demand particularly the inſpection of parliament.

Such is the ſtate of *our manufactures*, ſuch is that of *our colonies*; both ſhould be enquired into, that the nation may know, whether *the former* can ſupport themſelves much longer under the various preſſures that affect our manufacturers; and how is it poſ-

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ſible that *the latter* ſhould decline, when, if it had not been *for a falſe report of his death*, Sir O——o B——n might have *governed one of them*; and ſo many gentlemen of *no leſs fortune and character* have been frequently ſent *to take care of the reſt?*

The ſtate of *our garriſons* abroad too may deſerve to be conſidered, and whether the abſolute power, lodged in ſome of *our governors there*, has been *diſcreetly*, *moderately*, and *humanely* exerciſed, to the honour of his majeſty's commiſſion, and of the Engliſh name.

Sir, what I would farther ſubmit to your attention is, whether ſome *new powers* have not been aſſumed by the crown, or old ones *ſtretched* beyond their legal bounds, by the conſtruction of miniſters, and the acquieſcence, or perhaps the authority, of the judges themſelves. This is moſt likely to happen with regard to criminal proſecutions; and many inſtances of it have been complained of formerly, and fallen under the notice and the cenſure of parliament.

No longer ago than laſt year there was a loud complaint of a power aſſumed and exerciſed by the ſecretaries of ſtate, againſt all law, and particularly againſt *that moſt ſacred law* the *habeas corpus* act; I mean, the demanding ſecurity for their good behaviour, from perſons examined before them on ſuſpicion of writing, printing, or publiſhing, libels againſt the government.

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This having been exerciſed for the moſt part upon low and inconſiderable people, who had neither ſpirit nor ſtrength enough to ſupport their right, it had paſſed unqueſtioned many years together, till Mr. Franklin was adviſed not to comply with that demand, but to inſiſt on giving bail for his appearance only. Upon this the matter was brought by *habeas corpus* before my lord chief juſtice Raymond, who decided it *in his favour*; for he admitted him to bail, without any ſecurity for his good behaviour. Notwithſtanding which, the ſame practice continued in the ſecretary's office, and paſſed *ſub ſilentio*, till laſt year Mr. Amhurſt brought it into publick diſcourſe.

Though the circumſtances of this fact are pretty well known, yet, as they are of a weighty and a grievous nature, I will remind you of them by a ſhort recital of all ſuch particulars as are come to my knowledge. Some time after Chriſtmas 1737, Mr. Amhurſt, hearing that a warrant from the Duke of Newcaſtle was out againſt him, ſurrendered himſelf to a meſſenger, and was carried before his grace to be examined. The crime imputed to him was, that *he was ſuſpected* to be the author of a paper *ſuſpected* to be a libel. As no proofs were alledged againſt him, no witneſſes produced, an examination of this kind could not laſt long. As ſoon as it was over, he was told, that, the crime being bailable, he ſhould be bailed upon

upon finding ſufficient ſureties to anſwer for his appearance and trial; and gave bail for his appearance, but the other terms impoſed upon him he abſolutely refuſed. Upon that refuſal he was remanded back to cuſtody, and the next day brought his *habeas corpus*, and was then ſet at liberty by conſent, till the twelve judges ſhould determine the queſtion, whether he was obliged to give bail for his good behaviour, as well as for his appearance, before he was entitled to his liberty.

As this determination would have been the moſt important to the liberty of every man in England, that perhaps the judges ever gave, it was impatiently expected, and deſired by the publick. Several days were fixed for hearing counſel on both ſides; but they were never heard, and the queſtion remains ſtill undetermined.

A queſtion of no leſs conſequence, than whether ignominy and puniſhment (for *ſuch* the being bound to good behaviour is by the law ſuppoſed to be) ſhall be inflicted on a freeman *before any trial*, and *without his being charged upon oath*, even of ſuſpicion of guilt: a queſtion of no leſs conſequence, than whether any man in the kingdom, whom the court are pleaſed to ſuſpect of writing a libel, ſhall, by frequent ſucceſſive commitments upon other ſuſpicions, with no proof at all, be either conſtantly impriſoned, from not being able to find ſecurity for his good behaviour ſo often as it is aſked, which may be every week; or be expoſed to forfeit many bails at once,

once, to the value poſſibly of ten thouſand pounds *, for a ſingle breach of the peace, which in another circumſtance he could not be fined ten ſhillings for, by any court in England.

A queſtion of no leſs conſequence, than whether the *habeas corpus* act ſhall be the rule of proceedings in all caſes bailable; or whether it ſhall be in the power of every juſtice of peace to add *new terms* to it, and make *new exceptions* to the advantages given by that act to the ſubject; that is, whether *they* ſhould do what all the judges in England would deſerve to be impeached for if they did, and what the parliament itſelf ought no more to do, than to repeal or alter MAGNA CHARTA.

A queſtion of no leſs conſequence, than whether we ſhould loſe the entire benefit of the liberty of the preſs, which ſecures and ſtrengthens all our other liberties: ſince, upon ſuſpicion only of a book or paper being libellous, any man ſuſpected to be concerned in it may be put under the load of finding ſecurity for his good behaviour, which is ſuch a vexation, and ſuch a diſtreſs, that it is commonly part, and a heavy part, of the ſentence upon *convicted criminals*, in all but capital cauſes: ſince this is in the power of every juſtice of peace †; and ſince, by

* While a man is bound to his good behaviour, if he ſhould chance to commit any common act of natural frailty or paſſion, get drunk, for inſtance, or return a blow, he would be liable to forfeit his ſecurities.

† The law knows of no power in a ſecretary of ſtate, in this reſpect, which is not equally lodged in every juſtice of peace.

conſequence, no man can be ſafe who publiſhes a book, how innocent ſoever it may be, without *as many licenſers* as there are *Middleſex juſtices*.

Why this queſtion was not decided at that time, why it remains ſtill undetermined, I cannot tell. If there is no intention to revive the practice which occaſioned the diſpute, I am ſurprized and ſorry that the terror of it is ſuffered to hang over us ſtill, and that the opinion of all mankind concerning it has not yet received the ſanction of a judicial determination, or the declaration of parliament.

From my good opinion of the preſent judges, I hope and believe that, if *they* decide it, we have nothing to fear. They know the danger, and deteſt the iniquity, of adding reſtrictions of their own to laws declaratory of liberty. They know that parliaments have often reſented ſuch proceedings; that they have been productive of the greateſt miſchiefs, the greateſt diſorders, and convulſions in the ſtate: that the arbitrary interpretation of our laws in Weſtminſter-hall has been more than once the cauſe of civil war, the diſſolution of our government, and the deſtruction of our kings. They will therefore decide, not as former judges have done, who held their places at the mercy of the crown, but as men who *deſerve* the places which, without a crime, *they cannot loſe*.

Yet, if this deciſion ſhould be longer delayed, it will be highly proper, that the

ſenſe of parliament be taken upon it, and that we ſhould know to what we may truſt. For ſo long as this is in doubt, ſo long the nobleſt privileges, that Engliſhmen enjoy beyond all other nations, are left in uncertainty, and may be thought in danger.

And if the conſideration of this ſhall come before the legiſlature, they will be naturally led at the ſame time to conſider, if they are not grievous inconveniences that attend the trial of criminal cauſes by *ſpecial juries*; and whether moſt of the proviſions made by the act of 3 George II. ſhould not be extended *to them*. By the ſeveral regulations in that act for the return and balloting of common juries in civil cauſes, the property tried in ſmall actions is pretty ſtrongly guarded: but it is very extraordinary that, no proviſion of that kind has been made, where the queſtion to be tried is of the higheſt conſequence. It is very well known that, even in civil cauſes, few above the value of an hundred pounds are tried without a ſpecial jury, to which this act does not extend.

Now I can ſee no reaſon for theſe regulations with regard to the property tried by common juries, which does not hold much ſtronger for extending the care of parliament to the regulating ſpecial juries alſo. The ſmall value of the cauſes tried by the former makes it highly improbable, that either of the parties ſhould attempt to influence the ſheriff to make a partial return, ſince the gain

would no way equal the hazard. The ſame reaſon too will prevent an intereſted juryman, ſuppoſing ſuch a one was returned, from giving a verdict contrary to evidence, and perjuring himſelf in the ſight of his country, for ſo inconſiderable an advantage to the party he favours. And that crimes will be more or leſs frequent in proportion to the temptation to commit them, muſt be allowed.

In criminal caſes, this is ſtill more dangerous, becauſe the power of the crown may be exerted in the proſecution, and the queſtion to be tried is the impriſonment and puniſhment of a freeman. If the maſter of the crown-office, or his deputy, ſhould be ever under any influence, he may * name twelve of the defendant's friends to cover his purpoſe, and thirty-ſix of thoſe who are moſt prejudiced againſt him upon reaſons of party, or other cauſes, if he can find ſo many in the county; and as the ſolicitor for the crown would ſtrike off the former, the defendant muſt be tried from a jury among the latter. It is true, that officer is *ſworn*; but ſo is the ſheriff in returning common juries, and it is juſt as likely that the one ſhould *name* partially, as the other *return partially*.

* The rule of ſtriking ſpecial juries is, that the ſheriff of the county do attend the maſter of the crown-office with the freeholders books, out of which he is to name forty-eight in preſence of each party, who by their attornies or ſolicitors ſhall ſtrike off twelve apiece.

But there ſeems to be leſs reaſon for allowing of ſpecial juries to be ſtruck by the maſter of the crown-office, or by any other officer, upon informations, or indictments for crimes committed in London or Weſtminſter (which is the caſe of moſt of the crown proſecutions upon libels, &c. for very few ariſe in any other county), becauſe the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, being annual and elective officers, are leſs liable to ſuſpicion of influence, and, by conſequence, the moſt impartial officers between the crown and the ſubject.

The uſual argument in ſupport of ſpecial juries is, that it is ſometimes neceſſary for a cauſe to be conſidered by perſons of a higher rank and better education than common freeholders, and that they are never uſed in a capital caſe.

As to the firſt, admitting the reaſoning to be right, why may not ſpecial juries be balloted for out of a number of freeholders, *poſſeſt of eſtates to ſuch a value*, and the liſts be made in the ſame manner as is directed by the jury-act with regard to common juries?

And as to the ſecond part of the argument, that ſpecial juries are not uſed in capital caſes, that, at beſt, is but to ſay, that the practice is *not a bad one*, becauſe *it might be worſe*; and that, becauſe the life of the ſubject is ſafe, therefore his liberty is not worth conſideration. Sir, I think it is evident, this practice is ſuch as requires a new law, no

leſs

leſs than the abuſes and corruptions, recited in the preamble to the jury-act, required the regulations thereby made for ſpecial juries; nay, that without they are extended to common juries, that law is of leſs utility, than the parliament, which made it, hoped and deſigned. It was certainly *well-intended*; and I preſume the preſent parliament, when they ſee the defects of it, will not have leſs zeal for *the principle* it goes upon, than their predeceſſors.

But, when this method of trial ſhall be better regulated, I hope it will be alſo conſidered by the legiſlature, whether it be not adviſeable to *take another quite away*; I mean, *informations* in the king's bench for *criminal cauſes*:

Becauſe, by this method, the ſubject loſes one great benefit he is by law entitled to, that of *a grand jury*:

Becauſe, though, in caſes between ſubject and ſubject, it is in the power of the court to refuſe an information, if the defendant ſhew cauſe; yet in crown-proſecutions, of which the legiſlature ought to be moſt jealous, the attorney-general, by his own authority, files an information, which the court cannot refuſe:

Becauſe, though it comes out to be ever ſo groundleſs a charge, the crown pays no coſts, and the defendant may be undone by the expence:

Becauſe the act reſtraining ſubjects from this method of proſecution, *with regard to each other*, without leave of the court after hearing both ſides, and ſome farther cautions, is a ſtrong proof that the parliament thought it a dangerous and oppreſſive courſe, which they ought to diſcourage: but between ſubjects and *the crown* the danger ſurely is much greater, there being more room for oppreſſion, and the penalties on conviction more ſevere:

Becauſe there is reaſon to think that, when the ſtar-chamber was aboliſhed, the parliament meant to condemn the methods of trial uſed in that court, and did not imagine they would ariſe again in the king's bench, upon pretence that they had been *antiently*, though *very rarely*, practiſed *there*; and that all the powers the ſtar-chamber claimed from common law did, by the abolition of that court, devolve on the king's bench:

Becauſe, in all caſes *purely criminal*, the crown has another way of proceeding, *equally eaſy to the king*, and much more ſafe to the ſubject, *viz.* the *method of indictment:*

And becauſe the retaining *that* which may be made oppreſſive, *when there is no occaſion for it*, is no honour to the crown, and no advantage *but againſt the innocent.*

In anſwer to all this, it will, I know, be ſaid, that this is an antient power veſted by law in the crown; that it is invading the prerogative, to attempt to take it away; and that we ought to preſerve the conſtitution unchanged.

unchanged. To which I reply, that the antiquity of this power is no defence of it, if it be unfit to remain, ſince others as antient have been taken away: that the prerogative of the king is no more ſacred than the liberty of the ſubject: that *this* has been abridged in ſeveral inſtances of late, particularly the riot-act, on a ſuppoſition that the reſtraint was neceſſary for the publick good; and the ſame reaſoning will hold with regard to a power in the crown, the exerciſe of which is ſuppoſed to be dangerous to the publick.

As to the expediency and duty of preſerving the conſtitution *unchanged*, it is no doubt in general a right maxim. But does not every *new power given* to the crown *change* the conſtitution, as much as an old power *taken away?*

In the balance of our government, is the ſcale of the crown to be always *filling*, and that of the people always emptying?

Is there no danger to the ſtate, but from the *abuſe of liberty*, which is daily the argument for coercive laws, enforced with heavy penalties, and unknown to our anceſtors? May there not alſo be danger *from the abuſe of prerogative*, eſpecially in proſecutions carried on by the crown, where paſſion may mix itſelf, and where influence may prevail? and is it not as worthy of a parliament to provide a remedy againſt one of theſe dangers, as againſt the other?

We are told by a great man, by my lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII, that, when that prince had drawn great ſums of money by taxes and other impoſitions from his people, he uſed *to remunerate them* by good and wholeſome laws, beneficial to liberty, and of a popular nature, which, as his lordſhip obſerves, *were evermore his retribution for treaſure*. And the beſt retribution it was that could be made, the moſt effectual for relief, and the moſt capable of ſtopping complaints and healing diſcontents. This honour indeed did not belong to him alone; part of it ought to be imputed to his parliaments; though parliaments in thoſe days were not ſo independent as, I hope, they are now, but were a deal influenced by the power of the crown and the will of the king in directing their proceedings. But they both together had this merit to the nation, that what they took in ſubſidies, they paid again in laws.

It is the misfortune (I would not ſay the fault) of the preſent times, to have laid moſt heavy burthens, ſuch as were even unknown to the days of Henry the Seventh, with unremitting ſeverity, on the people of theſe kingdoms. In this parliaments and kings have long concurred, not without great diſcontent on the ſide of thoſe at whoſe expence it was done, and who have not always been ſo much convinced of *the neceſſity*. But as for retribution, except that retribution which conſiſts in *ſalaries* and *penſions* paid by the crown to the happy few who are the

objects of its favour, I am afraid little of this will be found to have been given, in the ſenſe the word is uſed by my lord Bacon, to make the people amends for the hardſhips they ſuſtain. New penal laws and new powers to the crown have for theſe twenty years paſt been almoſt the only preſents made by the legiſlature to us and our poſterity, in return for above one hundred millions raiſed upon the publick, in all the various ſhapes from the land-tax down to turnpikes.

But it is full time to think of *other retributions:* the nation requires it from your hands; requires you to ſtrengthen, to enlarge, the baſis upon which their rights are fixed; and, if there are any rotten parts in that great fabrick, to take them away, leſt they endanger the whole. Much of this was done at the renovation of our goverment by the late happy Revolution, but not all. Some defects were left, through inattention or other cauſes, which it may be the glory of his majeſty's reign and of this parliament, by their united wiſdom and goodneſs, to remove. This will conciliate to both the affections of the people; and do more, much more, towards ſecuring the government, than *an army could of an hundred thouſand men.* We hear much of diſaffection; this would cruſh it at once: it would unite the friends of the eſtabliſhment, and confound its enemies; it would

would ſhew the cauſe we ſupport to be *the cauſe of liberty*.

Sir, I have now laid before you, with great plainneſs and ſincerity, what I believe the nation aſks of its repreſentatives. I am one unpractiſed in writing, and that underſtand no rhetorick, but what owes its pr ealence to the ſingle force of truth: and leaſt of all do I underſtand the method of arguing, which want of genius in writers, and meanneſs of ſpirit in their pay-maſters, have made ſo common in political diſputes, attacking *private characters*, and turning a national queſtion into *perſonal* altercation and abuſive *lies*. I am ſo much unknown, that I believe myſelf very ſecure from this ſort of anſwer being made me on account of this letter. If any other ſuffers in my ſtead (as theſe hired *aſſaſſins* are apt to miſtake their object in the dark), I ſhall recommend to him, what I would practiſe myſelf in that caſe, *ſilence* and *contempt*. As to the facts and reaſonings laid down here, if they are controverted, I am ready to ſupport them againſt any attack which comes from a better hand than ordinary, and has common ſenſe in it. I am quite a ſtranger to the perſons of our miniſters: I know them only by the effects of their conduct; and neither *they* nor *their ſucceſſors* can pleaſe or offend me, but as my country gains or ſuffers by their power. And I pity thoſe, if there are any ſuch, who think *the removing an ill miniſter* is a point of conſequence,

quence, if with him *the maxims* and *the measures* of his government, how ſtrongly ſoever eſtabliſhed, are not alſo *expelled.*

I ſhall only add to what I have ſaid, that, unleſs ſomething be done by *this parliament*, to give new vigour to our liberties, ſtop the torrent of corruption, and revive the principles and the ſpirit of our fathers, we have leſs to hope than to apprehend from *thoſe to come.* The time, I doubt, is not far off, when, by the increaſe of influence, there may be ſuch difficulties upon country gentlemen to oppoſe the court in elections, and ſuch a deſpondency, ſuch a diſpiritedneſs on the minds of all, except the favourites of power, that no ſtruggle could be expected, no oppoſition at all, to the nomination of the crown. A kind of *congé d'elire* might be ſent down into the country, and directed *to our truſty and well-beloved officers of the cuſtoms, exciſe, and army*, in all the towns and boroughs of England, Scotland, Wales, and the dutchy of Cornwall. Suitable returns would be made: but, Sir, *this would not be a parliament.*

May that Providence, which has ſaved us ſo often when we could not or would not ſave ourſelves, preſerve us now! may his majeſty's *gracious diſpoſitions* operate in our favour, and remove the clouds that have been ſpread ſo thick about him, to prevent his ſeeing both our intereſt and *his own!*

May

May an alteration of meaſures be the aim, the effect, and *the reward*, of oppoſition! may the publick good be the object, the bound, and the ſecurity, of power! may *the royal family*, may all parties, may the nation, unite in affection, and be divided no more! may all who obſtruct this union, for vile ends of their own, be *the victims of it*, and ſuffer what they deſerve! may all who deſire it, *underſtand*, *aſſiſt*, and *ſtrengthen one another!*

I am, SIR, &c.

For the proof of what is advanced in the firſt part of this Letter, it may not be improper to recite ſome articles of our treaties with Spain and France, that regard America.

I^mo.

The treaty of 1667, between ENGLAND and SPAIN.

ART. VIII.

—— And for what may concern both the Indies, and any other parts whatſoever, the King of Spain doth grant to the King of Great Britain and his ſubjects, all that is granted to the United States of the Low Countries and their ſubjects, in their treaty of Munſter, 1648, point for point, in as full and

and ample a manner as if the ſame were herein particularly inſerted; the ſame rules being to be obſerved whereunto the ſubjects of the ſaid United States are obliged, and mutual offices of friendſhip to be performed from one ſide to the other.

The articles referred to are,

ART. V.

La navigation et trafique des Indes Orientales et Occidentales ſera maintenuë ſelon et en conformité des octroys ſur ce donnés, ou a donner ci-après; pour ſeureté de quoy ſervira le preſent traité et la ratification d'iceluy, qui de part & d'autre en ſera procurée: et ſeront compris ſous le dit traité tous potentats, nations, et peuples, avec leſquels leſdits Seigneurs Eſtats, ou ceux de la ſocieté des Indes Orientales et Occidentales en leur nom, entre les limites de leurſdits octroys, ſont en amitié et alliance; et un chacun, ſçavoir les ſuſdits Seigneurs Roy et Eſtats, reſpectivement demeureront en poſſeſſion et jouïront de telles ſeigneurs, villes, chaſteaux, forteresſes, commerce et pays és Indes Orientales et Occidentales, comme auſſi au Braſil et ſur les coſtes d'Aſie, Afrique, et Amerique reſpectivement, que leſdits Seigneurs Roy et Eſtats reſpectivement tiennent et poſſedent, en ce compris ſpecialement les lieux et places que les Portugais depuis l'an mil ſix cent quarante

quarante et un, ont pris et occupé ſur leſdits Seigneurs Eſtats; compris auſſi les lieux et places qu'iceux Seigneurs Eſtats cy-après, ſans infraction du preſent traicté, viendront à conquerir & poſſeder; et les directeurs de la ſocieté des Indes tant Orientales que Occidentales des Provinces-Unies, comme auſſi les miniſtres, officiers hauts et bas, ſoldats et matelots, eſtans en ſervice actuel de l'une ou de l'autre deſdites compagnies, ou ayans eſté en leur ſervice, comme auſſi ceux qui hors leur ſervice reſpectivement, tant en ce pays, qu'au diſtrict deſdites deux compagnies, continüent encore, ou pourront cy-après eſtre employés, ſeront et demeureront libres et ſans eſtre moleſtes en tous les pays eſtans ſoûs l'obeïſſance dudit Seigneur Roy en l'Europe, pourront voyer, trafiquer, et frequenter, comme tous autres habitans des pays deſdits Seigneurs Eſtats. En ouſtre a eſté conditionné et ſtipulé, que les Eſpagnols retiendront leur navigation en telle maniere, qu'ils la tiennent pour le preſent és Indes Orientales, ſans ſe pouvoir eſtendre plus avant, comme auſſi les habitans de ce Pays-Bas s'abſtiendront de la frequentation des places que les Caſtellans ont és Indes Orientales.

ART. VI.

Et quant aux Indes Occidentales, les ſujets et habitans des royaumes, provinces et terres deſdits Seigneurs Roy et Eſtats reſpectivement s'abſtiendront de naviger et trafiquer en tous les havres, lieux et places garnies de forts,

forts, loges, ou caſteaux, et toutes autres poſſedées par l'une ou l'autre partie; ſcavoir que les ſujets dudit Seigneur Roy ne navigeront et trafiqueront en celles tenües par leſdits Seigneurs Eſtats, ni les ſujets deſdits Seigneurs Eſtats en celles tenües par ledit Seigneur Roy, et entre les places tenües par leſdits Seigneurs Eſtats ſeront compriſes les places que les Portugais, depuis l'an mil ſix cent quarante et un ont occupé dans le Braſil ſur leſdits Seigneurs Eſtats, comme auſſi toutes autres places qu'ils poſſedent à preſent tandis qu'elles demeureront auxdix Portugais; ſans que le precedent article puiſſe deroger au contenû de preſent.

II^do.

The Treaty of 1670, between ENGLAND and SPAIN, commonly called the American Treaty *.

ART. III.

Item uti in futurum omnes inimicitiæ, hoſtilitates et diſcordiæ inter prædictos Dominos Reges, eorumque ſubditos, et incolas ceſſant, et aboleantur; et utraque pars ab omne direptione, deprædatione, læſione, injuriiſque ac infeſtatione qualicunque tam terra quam mari, et aquis dulcibus ubivis gentium temperet prorſus, et abſtineat.

* This treaty confirms by its firſt article that of 1667, and both are particularly confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht.

ART.

ART. VII.

—Conventum præterea eſt quod ſereniſſimus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, hæredes et ſucceſſores ejus, cum plenario jure ſummi imperii, proprietatis et poſſeſſionis, terras omnes, regiones, inſulas, colonias ac dominia in Occidentali India aut quavis parte Americæ ſita habebunt, tenebunt et poſſedebunt in perpetuum, quæcunque dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, et ſubditi ejus impræſentiarum tenent ac poſſident, ita ut eo nomine, aut quacunque ſub prætenſione nihil unquam amplius urgeri, nihilque controverſiarum in poſterum moveri poſſit, aut debeat.

ART. VIII.

Subditi, et incolæ, mercatores, navarchæ, naucleri, nautæ, regnorum, provinciarum, terrarumque utriuſque Regis reſpectivè abſtinebunt, cavebuntque ſibi à commerciis, et navigatione in portus, ac loca fortilitiis, ſtabulis mercimoniorum, vel caſtellis inſtructa, aliaque omnia quæ ab una vel ab altera parte occupantur in Occidentali India: nimirum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ ſubditi negotiationem non dirigent, navigationem non inſtituent, mercaturam non faciant, in portubus, lociſvè, quæ Rex Catholicus in dicta India tenet; neque viciſſim Regis Hiſpaniarum ſubditi in ea loca navigationes inſtituent, aut commercia exercebunt, quæ ibidem à Rege Magnæ Britanniæ poſſidentur.

ART.

ART. IX.

Si verò tractu temporis visum fuerit alterutri Regum licentiam aliquam generalem vel specialem, aut privilegia, concedere alterius subditis, navigationem instituendi et commercium habendi in quibusvis locis suæ ditionis, qui dictas licentias et privilegia concesserit, dicta navigatio et commercium exercebuntur et manu tenebuntur juxta et secundum formam, tenorem, et effectum permissionum, aut privilegiorum, quæ indulgeri poterint, quorum securitati præsens tractatus, ejusdemque ratihabitio inserviet.

ART. X.

Item concordatum est, quod si alterutrius confœderatorum subditi et incolæ cum navibus suis, sive bellicæ sint et publicæ, sive onerariæ ac privatæ, procellis abrepti fuerint, vel persequentibus piratis inimicis ac hostibus, aut alio quovis incommodo, cogantur se ad portum quærendum in alterius fœderati flumina, sinus, æstuaria, ac stationes recipere, vel ad littora quæcunque in America appellere, benignè, omnique humanitate ibidem excipiantur, amica gaudeant protectione, et benevolentia tractentur. Nullo autem modo impediantur, quò minus integrum omninò habeant reficere se, victualia etiam et omne genus commeatum, sive vitæ sustinendæ, sive navibus reparandis, et itineri faciendo necessarium, æquo et consueto pretio comparare. Nulla quoque ratione prohibeantur ex portu et sta-

tione viciſſim ſolvere, ac egredi, quin ipſis licitum ſit, pro libito migrare loco, libereque diſcedere quandocunque et quocunque viſum fuerit, abſque ulla moleſtatione aut impedimento.

ART. XI.

Pari ratione ſi naves alterutrius confœderati, ejuſdemque ſubditorum ac incolarum, ad oras aut in ditionibus quibuſcunque alterius impegerint, jactum fecerint, vel (quod Deus avertat) naufragium, aut damnum quodcunque paſſæ fuerint, ejectos, aut detrimenta paſſos, in vincula aut ſervitutem abducere, nefas eſto; quin periclitantibus aut naufragis benevolè ac amiciſſimè ſubveniatur, atque auxilium feratur, literæque illis ſalvi conductûs exhibeantur, quibus inde tutò et abſque moleſtia exire, et ad ſuam quique patriam redire valeat.

ART. XII.

Quando autem alterutrius naves (uti ſupradictum eſt) maris periculo, aliave cogente ratione compulſæ, in alterius portus adigantur, ſi tres quatuorve fuerint, juſtamque ſuſpicionis occaſionem præbere poterint, adventûs iſtiuſmodi cauſa gubernatori vel primario loci magiſtratui, ſtatim exponetur, nec diutius ibi mora trahetur, quam quæ illis à dicto gubernatore aut præfecto permiſſa, & victui comparando, navibuſque tum reſarciendis tum inſtruendis commoda atque æqua fuerit; cautum vero ſemper erit, ut onus non diſtrahant, neque mercium aut ſarcinarum aliquid è navi-

bus

bus efferant, et venum exponant, nec etiam mercimonia ab altera parte in naves reciperint, aut quicquam egerint contra hoc fœdus.

ART. XV.

Præsens tractatus nihil derogabit præeminentiæ, juri, ac dominio cuicunque alterutrius confœderatorum in maribus Americanis, fretis, atque aquis quibuscunque; sed habeant retineantque sibi eadem pari amplitudine, quæ illis jure competit: intellectum autem semper esto libertatem navigandi neutiquam interrumpi deberi, modo nihil adversus genuinum horum articulorum sensum committatur, vel peccetur.

III°.

The Treaty of 1686, between ENGLAND and FRANCE.

ART. V.

Et que pour cet effet les sujets et habitans, marchands, capitaines de vaisseaux, pilotes et matelots de royaumes, provinces et terres de chacun desdits Roys respectivement, ne ferunt aucun commerce ni pesche dans les lieux dont l'on est ou l'on sera en possession de part et d'autre dans l'Amerique. C'est à scavoir, que les sujets de sa Majesté tres Chrêtienne ne se mesleront d'aucun trafic, ne feront aucun commerce, et ne pescheront point, dans les ports, rivieres, bayes, embouchures de rivieres, rades, costes, ou autres lieux qui sont ou seront ci-après possedez par sa Majesté Britannique en Amerique; et reciproquement les

ſujets de ſa Majeſté Britannique ne ſe meſleront d'aucun trafic, ne feront aucun commerce, et ne peſcheront point dans, les ports, rivieres, bayes, embouchures de rivieres, rades, coſtes, ou autres lieux qui ſont ou ſeront ci-après poſſedez par ſa Majeſté tres Chrêtienne en Amerique. Et au cas qu'aucun vaiſſeau, ou barque, ſoit ſurpris faiſant trafic, ou peſchant, contre ce qui eſt porté par le preſent traité, ledit vaiſſeau, ou barque, avec ſa charge, ſera confiſqué, après que la preuve de la contravention aura eſté legitimement faite. Il ſera néanmoins permis à la partie qui ſe ſentira gravée par la ſentence de la confiſcation, de ſe pouvoir au conſeil d'eſtat du Roy, dont les gouverneurs ou juges auront rendû ladite ſentence de confiſcation, et d'y porter ſa plainte, ſans que pour cela l'execution de la ſentence ſoit empeſchée ; bien entendû néanmoins que la liberté de la navigation ne doit eſtre nullement empeſchée, pourveu qu'il ne commette rien contre la veritable ſens du preſent traité.

ART. VI.

De plus, il a eſté accorde, que ſi les ſujets et habitans de l'un ou de l'autre deſdits Roys, et leurs vaiſſeaux, ſoit de guerre et publics, ſoit marchands et particuliers, ſont emportez par les tempeſtes, ou eſtant pourſuivis par les pirates ou par les ennemis, ou preſſez par quelque autre neceſſité, ſont contraints pour ſe mettre en ſeureté, de ſe retirer dans les ports, rivieres,

rivieres, bayes, embouchures de rivieres, rades, et coſtes quelconques appertenantes à l'autre Roy dans l'Amerique, ils y ſeront bien et amicablement reçûs, protegez, et favorablement traitez qu'ils pourront, ſans qu'on les empêche en quelque maniere que ſoit, s'y refraichir, et même acheter au prix ordinaire et raiſonable, des vivres, et toutes ſortes de proviſions neceſſaires, ou pour la vie, ou pour radouber les vaiſſeaux, et pour continuer leur route : qu'on ne les empêchera non plus en aucune maniere de ſortir des ports et rades, mais qu'il leur ſera permis de partir, et s'en aller en toute liberté quand et où il leur plairra, ſans être moleſtez ou empêchez : qu'on ne les obligera point à ſe defaire de leur charge, ou à decharger et expoſer en vente leurs marchandiſes ou balots : qu'auſſi de leur part ils ne reçevront dans leurs vaiſſeaux aucune marchandiſes, et ne feront de peſche, ſoûs peine de confiſcation deſdits vaiſſeaux et marchandiſes, conformement à ce qui a eſté convenû dans l'article precedent. De plus a eſté accordé, que toutes et quantes fois que les ſujets de l'un ou de l'autre deſdits Roys ſeront contraints, comme il a eſté dit ci-deſſus, d'entrer avec leurs vaiſſeaux dans les ports de l'autre Roy, ils ſeront obligez, en entrant, d'arborer la banniere ou marque de leur nation, et d'avertir de leur arrivée par trois coups de mouſquet ; à faut de quoi faire, et d'envoyer une chaloupe à terre, ils pourront être confiſquez.

ART. VII.

Pareillement ſi les vaiſſeaux de l'un ou de l'autre deſdits Roys, et de leurs ſujets et habitans, viennent à échouër, jetter en mer leurs marchandiſes, ou, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaiſe, faire naufrage, ou qu'il leur arrive quelqu'autre malheur que ce ſoit, on donnera aide et ſecours avec bonté et charité à ceux qui ſeront en danger, ou auront fait naufrage: il leur ſera delivré des ſaufs conduits, ou paſſeports, pour pouvoir ſe retirer dans leur pays en ſeureté, et ſans être moleſtez.

ART. VIII.

Que ſi les vaiſſeaux de l'un ou de l'autre Roy, qui ſeront contraints par quelque avanture ou cauſe que ſe ſoit, comme il a été dit, de ſe retirer dans les ports de l'autre Roy, ſe trouvent au nombre de trois ou de quatre, et peuvent donner quelque juſte cauſe de ſoupçon, ils feront auſſi-tôt connoître au gouverneur ou principal magiſtrat du lieu, la cauſe de leur arrivée; et ne demeureront qu'autant de tems, qu'ils en auront permiſſion du dit gouverneur ou commandant, et ce qu'il ſera juſte et raiſonable, pour ſe pourvoir de vivres, et pour radouber et equiper leurs vaiſſeaux.

That

That it may appear what was the ſenſe both Houſes of Parliament had of theſe Treaties, I have here adjoined the Reſolutions and Addreſſes of the Lords and Commons, upon the Petition of the Merchants laſt year, and his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwers.

Jovis, 30° die Martii, 1738.

Reſolved,

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is the natural and undoubted right of the Britiſh ſubjects to ſail with their ſhips on any part of the ſeas of America, to and from any part of his Majeſty's dominions; and that the freedom of navigation and commerce, which the ſubjects of Great Britain have an undoubted right to by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, has been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundleſs and unwarrantable; that, before and ſince the execution of the treaty of Seville, and the declaration made by the crown of Spain purſuant thereunto, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of the commerce of Great-Britain, many unjuſt ſeizures and captures

have been made, and great depredations committed, by the Spaniards, attended with many inſtances of unheard-of cruelty and barbarity; that the frequent applications made to the court of Spain, for procuring juſtice and ſatisfaction to his majeſty's injured ſubjects, for bringing the offenders to condign puniſhment, and for preventing the like abuſes for the future, have proved vain and ineffectual; and the ſeveral orders or cedulas, granted by the king of Spain, for reſtitution and reparation of great loſſes ſuſtained by the unlawful and unjuſtifiable ſeizures and captures made by the Spaniards, have been diſobeyed by the Spaniſh governors, or totally evaded and eluded: all which violences and depredations have been carried on, to the great loſs and damage of the ſubjects of Great-Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

A motion was made, and the queſtion being put, that the ſaid reſolution be recommitted;

It paſſed in the negative.

Then the ſaid reſolution, being read a ſecond time, was agreed to by the Houſe.

Mr. Alderman Perry alſo acquainted the Houſe, that he was directed by the Committee, to move the Houſe, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to uſe his royal endeavours with

with his Catholick Majeſty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured ſubjects, and to convince the Court of Spain, that, how deſirous ſoever his Majeſty may be to preſerve a good correſpondence and amity between the two Crowns (which can only ſubſiſt by a ſtrict obſervance of their mutual treaties, and a juſt regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other), his Majeſty can no longer ſuffer ſuch conſtant and repeated inſults and injuries to be carried on, to the diſhonour of his Crown, and to the ruin of his trading ſubjects; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that in caſe his royal and friendly inſtances, for procuring juſtice, and *for the future ſecurity of that navigation and commerce*, which his people have an undoubted right to by treaties and the law of nations, ſhall not be able to procure, from the equity and friendſhip of the King of Spain, ſuch ſatisfaction as his Majeſty may reaſonably expect from a good and faithful ally, this Houſe will effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honour and juſtice ſhall make it neceſſary for his Majeſty to purſue.

And Mr. Alderman Perry moved the Houſe accordingly.

Reſolved,

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to uſe his royal endeavours with his Catholick Majeſty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured ſubjects, and to convince the Court of Spain,

Spain, that, how desirous soever his Majesty may be to preserve a good correspondence and amity betwixt the two Crowns (which can only subsist by a strict observance of their mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other), his Majesty can no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonour of his Crown, and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and to assure his Majesty, that, in case his royal and friendly instances, for procuring justice, and *for the future security of that navigation and commerce* which his people have an undoubted right to by treaties and the law of nations, shall not be able to procure, from the equity and friendship of the King of Spain, such satisfaction as his Majesty may reasonably expect from a good and faithful ally, this House will effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice shall make it necessary for his Majesty to pursue.

Veneris, 7° die Aprilis, 1738.

Mr. Speaker reported, that the House attended his Majesty, with their Resolution and Address of the 30th day of March last; to which his Majesty was pleased to give this most gracious answer, *viz.*

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

I am fully ſenſible of the many and unwarrantable depredations committed by the Spaniards; and you may be aſſured, I will make uſe of the moſt proper and effectual means that are in my power, to procure juſtice and ſatisfaction to my injured ſubjects, and *for the future ſecurity of their trade and navigation.* I can ~~make~~ make no doubt, but you will ſupport me with chearfulneſs in all ſuch meaſures as, in purſuance of your advice, I may be neceſſitated to take, for the honour of my Crown and kingdoms, and the rights of my people.

The humble ADDRESS of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Martis, 2° Maii, 1738.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious conſideration the many unjuſt violences and depredations committed by the Spaniards, upon the perſons, ſhips, and effects, of divers of your Majeſty's ſubjects in America, have come to the following reſo-

lutions, which we beg leave in the humbleſt manner to lay before your Majeſty, for your royal conſideration, *viz.*

I. Reſolved, That the ſubjects of the Crown of Great-Britain have a clear and undoubted right to navigate in the American ſeas, to and from any part of his Majeſty's dominions; and for carrying on ſuch trade and commerce as they are juſtly intitled unto in America; and alſo to carry all ſorts of goods and merchandizes, or effects, from one part of his Majeſty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods, being ſo carried, are, by any treaty ſubſiſting between the Crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns.

II. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, that, as well before as ſince the execution of the treaty of Seville, on the part of Great-Britain, divers ſhips and veſſels, with their cargoes, belonging to Britiſh ſubjects, have been violently ſeized and confiſcated by the Spaniards, upon pretences altogether unjuſt and groundleſs; and that many of the ſailors on board ſuch ſhips have been injuriouſly and barbarouſly impriſoned and ill-treated; and that thereby the liberty of navigation and commerce belonging to his

his Majeſty's ſubjects, by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, hath been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great loſs and damage of our merchants, and in direct violation of the ſaid treaties.

III. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, that frequent applications have been made, on the part of his Majeſty, to the Court of Spain, in a manner the moſt agreeable to treaties, and to the peace and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, for redreſſing the notorious abuſes and grievances before-mentioned, and preventing the like for the future, and for obtaining adequate ſatisfaction to his injured ſubjects; which, in the event, have proved entirely fruitleſs, and of no effect.

We think it our duty, on this important occaſion, humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, That we are moſt ſenſibly affected with the many and grievous injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by your Majeſty's trading ſubjects, by means of theſe unwarrantable depredations and ſeizures; and to give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere aſſurances, That in caſe your friendly and powerful inſtances for procuring reſtitution and reparation to your injured ſubjects, and *for the future ſecurity of their trade and navigation*, ſhall fail of having their due effect and influence on the Court of Spain, and

ſhall

ſhall not be able to obtain that real ſatisfaction and ſecurity which your majeſty may in juſtice expect; we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch meaſures as ſhall become neceſſary, for the ſupport of your majeſty's honour, the preſervation of our navigation and commerce, and the common good of theſe kingdoms.

His MAJESTY's moſt Gracious ANSWER.

My Lords,

I am ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by my trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards. You may be aſſured of my care to procure ſatisfaction and reparation for the loſſes they have already ſuffered, *and ſecurity for the freedom of navigation for the future*; and to maintain to my people the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they are intitled by treaty and the law of nations.

I doubt not but I ſhall have your concurrence, for the ſupport of ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE I wrote my letter, news is come into the country, that two or three of our ſhips have been very lately taken by the Spaniards, one of them by a Spaniſh man of war, with the king's commiſſion, on the high ſeas, the captain of which is now impriſoned at Cadiz; and that two ſloops belonging to the South-ſea company are detained, and a guard is ſet upon our factory at the Havannah. If *theſe* are the *firſt-fruits* of our peace, *what will the harveſt be?*

But after all, Sir, have we any peace at all? have we any thing granted us that will even bear that name? or have we been only amuſed by the Spaniards, till they could *get their money home* (which we hear is hourly expected in two richly-laden ſhips), and till the ſeaſon ſhould be paſt for us to act with advantage?

I would alſo beg leave to aſk one queſtion more. We were told ſome time ago that one of our men of war in the Weſt-Indies had taken the Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip; but that, by orders of commodore Brown, it was immediately afterwards carried back to the latitude in which it was taken, and reſtored again. Did the captain who took it act *without*, or *againſt*, *orders?* if he had orders *to cruiſe*, why was his capture *reſtored?* were thoſe orders

orders only given *for ſhew*, to *amuſe the merchants*, and *to look like action?* would it not have been right and prudent, to have kept the money that was aboard this ſhip, *as a pledge in our hands*, in caſe that peace ſhould be refuſed us upon proper terms? We might have kept it juſtly, *as a ſecurity for the re-payment of our loſſes*; whereas the act of the Spaniards, in detaining our effects at the Havannah, is in reality adding *a new robbery* to the paſt. Let me however obſerve, that, though *reparation to our merchants* is highly fit and neceſſary, and what we ought to demand, *it is by far the point of leaſt importance to the nation.* We are intereſted no doubt for them upon many accounts; but both we and they have a much greater intereſt *in the future ſecurity of commerce being firmly eſtabliſhed. This* is the national concern, *this* both Houſes of Parliament have ſtrongly inſiſted on, *this* his Majeſty has promiſed to procure for us. If *this* be neglected, any *preſent gratification* will be of little advantage, and *ſhould be thought of with ſcorn.*

LETTERS

FROM A

PERSIAN IN ENGLAND

TO HIS

FRIEND AT ISPAHAN.

To the BOOKSELLER.

SIR,

I Need not acquaint you by what accident theſe Letters were put into my hands, and what pains I have taken in tranſlating them. I will only ſay, that, having been long a ſcholar to the late moſt learned Mr. Dadichy, Interpreter of the Oriental languages, I have acquired ſkill enough in the Perſian tongue, to be able to give the ſenſe of them pretty juſtly: though I muſt acknowledge my tranſlation far inferior to the Eaſtern ſublimity of the original, which no Engliſh expreſſion can come up to, and which no Engliſh reader would admire.

I am aware that ſome people may ſuſpect that the character of a Perſian is *fictitious*, as many ſuch counterfeits have appeared both in France and England: but whoever reads them with attention will be convinced that they are certainly the work of a perfect ſtranger. The obſervations are ſo *foreign* and *out of the way*, ſuch *remote hints* and *imperfect notions* are taken up, *our preſent happy condition* is in all reſpects *ſo ill underſtood*,

that it is hardly poſſible any *Engliſhman* ſhould be the author.

Yet, as there is a pleaſure in knowing how things *here* affect a foreigner, though his conceptions of them be ever ſo extravagant, I think you may venture to expoſe them to the eyes of the world; the rather becauſe it is plain the man who wrote them is a lover of liberty, and muſt be ſuppoſed more impartial than our countrymen, when they ſpeak of their own admired cuſtoms and favourite opinions.

I have nothing further to add, but that it is a *great pity* they are not recommended to the publick by a dedication to *ſome great man about the court*, who would have patronized them *for the freedom with which they are written:* but the Publiſher not having the honour to be acquainted with any body *there*, they muſt want that ineſtimable advantage, and truſt entirely to the candour of the reader. I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant.

PERSIAN

PERSIAN LETTERS.

LETTER I.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THOU knoweſt, my deareſt Mirza, the reaſons that moved me to leave my country, and viſit England: thou waſt thyſelf, in a great meaſure, the cauſe of it. The relations we received from our friend Uſbec, of thoſe parts of Europe which he had ſeen, raiſed in us an ardent deſire to know the reſt, and particularly *this famous iſland*, of which, not having been there himſelf, he could give us but imperfect accounts.

By his perſuaſion we determined to travel *thither:* but when we were juſt ready to ſet out, the ſublime orders of the ſophi our maſter detained thee at the feet of his ſacred throne.

Unwilling as I was to go alone, I yielded to thy importunities, and was content to live ſingle among ſtrangers and enemies to the

faith, that I might be able to gratify thy thirſt of knowledge.

My voyage was proſperous: and I find this country well worthy our curioſity. The recommendations given me by Uſbec to ſome Engliſh he knew at Paris, are a great advantage to me: and I have taken ſuch pains to learn the language, that I am already more capable of converſation than a great many foreigners I meet with here, who have reſided much longer in this country, eſpecially the French, who ſeem to value themſelves upon ſpeaking no tongue but their own.

I ſhall apply myſelf principally to ſtudy *the Engliſh government*, ſo different from that of Perſia, and of which Uſbec has conceived at a diſtance ſo great an idea.

Whatever in the manners of this people appear to me to be *ſingular* and *fantaſtical*, I will alſo give thee ſome account of: and, if I may judge by what I have ſeen already, this is a ſubject which will not eaſily be exhauſted.

Communicate my letters to Uſbec, and he will explain ſuch difficulties to thee as may happen to occur: but if any thing ſhould ſeem to you both to be *unaccountable*, do not therefore immediately conclude it *falſe*; for the *habits* and *reaſonings* of men are ſo very different, that what appears the exceſs of *folly* in one country, may in another be eſteemed the higheſt *wiſdom*.

LETTER II.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE firſt objects of a ſtranger's curioſity are the publick ſpectacles. I was carried laſt night to one they call an opera, which is a concert of muſick brought from Italy, and in every reſpect *foreign* to this country. It was performed in a chamber as magnificent as the reſplendent palace of our emperor, and as full of handſome women as his ſeraglio. They had no eunuchs among them; but there was one who ſung upon the ſtage, and, by the luxurious tenderneſs of his airs, ſeemed fitter to make them wanton, than keep them chaſte.

Inſtead of the habit proper to ſuch creatures, he wore a ſuit of armour, and called himſelf Julius Cæſar.

I aſked who Julius Cæſar was, and whether he had been famous for *ſinging!*

They told me, he was a warrior, that had conquered all the world, and debauched half the women in Rome.

I was going to expreſs my admiration at ſeeing him ſo properly repreſented, when I heard two ladies, who ſat nigh me, cry out, as it were in an exſtacy, *O that dear creature! I am dying for love of him.*

At the ſame time I heard a gentleman ſay aloud, that both the muſick and ſingers were deteſtable.

You muſt not mind him, ſaid my friend; he is of the *other party*, and comes here only as a *ſpy*.

How! ſaid I, have you parties in muſick? Yes, replied he; it is a rule with us, to judge of nothing by our ſenſes and underſtanding; but to hear, and ſee, and think, only as we chance to be differently engaged.

I hope, ſaid I, that a ſtranger may be neutral in theſe diviſions: and, to ſay the truth, your muſick is very far from inflaming me to a ſpirit of faction; it is much more likely to lay me aſleep. Ours in Perſia ſets us all a dancing; but I am quite unmoved with this.

Do but *fancy* it *moving*, returned my friend, and you will ſoon be *moved* as much as others. It is a trick you may learn when you will, with a little pains: we have moſt of us learnt it in our turns.

LETTER III.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I Was this morning preſent at a diverſion extremely different from the opera, of which I have given thee a deſcription; and they tell me it is peculiar to this country. The ſpectators were placed in galleries of an open circus: below them was an area filled, not with eunuchs and muſicians, but with bulls and bears, and dogs, and fighting men. The pleaſure was, to ſee the animals worry and gore one another, and the men give and receive many wounds; which the delighted beholders rewarded with ſhowers of money, greater or leſs, in proportion as the combatants were more or leſs hurt. I had ſome compaſſion for the poor beaſts, which were forcibly incenſed againſt each other: but the *human brutes*, who, unexcited by any rage or ſenſe of injury, could ſpill the blood of others, and loſe their own, ſeemed to me to deſerve no pity: however, I looked upon it as a proof of the martial genius of this people, and imagined I could diſcover in that ferocity a ſpirit of freedom. A Frenchman, who ſat near me, was much offended at the barbarity of the fight, and reproached my friend who brought me thither with the ſanguinary

ſanguinary diſpoſition of the Engliſh, in delighting in ſuch ſpectacles. My friend agreed with him in general, and allowed that it ought not to be encouraged in a civilized ſtate: but a gentleman who was placed juſt above them caſt a very ſour look at both, and did not ſeem at all of their opinion. He was dreſt in a ſhort black wig, had his boots on, and held in his hand a long whip, which, when the fellow fought ſtoutly, he would crack very loud by way of approbation. One would have thought by his aſpect that he had fought ſome prizes himſelf, or at leaſt that he had received a good part of his education in this place. His diſcourſe was as rough as his figure, but did not appear to me to want ſenſe. I ſuppoſe, Sir, ſaid he to my friend, that you have been bred at court, and therefore I am not ſurprized that you do not reliſh the bear-garden: but let me tell you, that if more people came hither, and fewer loitered in the drawing-room, it would not be worſe for Old England. We are indeed a *civilized ſtate*, as you are pleaſed to call it; but I could wiſh, upon certain occaſions, we were not quite ſo *civil*. This gentleneſs and effeminacy in our manners will ſoften us by degrees into ſlaves; and we ſhall grow to hate fighting in earneſt, when we do not love to ſee in jeſt. You fine gentlemen are for the taſte of Modern Rome, ſqueaking eunuchs and corruption: but I am for that of Ancient Rome, gladiators and liberty.

liberty. And as for the barbarity, which the foreigner there upbraids us with, I can tell him of a French king, whom their nation is very proud of, that acted much more *barbarously*; for he shed the blood of millions of his subjects out of downright wantonness, and butchered his innocent neighbours without any cause of quarrel, only to have the glory of being esteemed *the greatest prize-fighter* in Europe.

LETTER IV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

IT is the law of England, that when a debtor is insolvent, his creditors may shut him up in prison, and keep him there, if they please, for all his life, unless he pays the whole of what he owes. My curiosity led me, the other day, to one of those prisons: my heart is still heavy with the remembrance of the objects I saw there. Among the various causes of their undoing, some are of so extraordinary a kind, that I cannot help relating them to thee. One of the prisoners, who carried in his looks the most settled melancholy, told me, he had been master of an easy fortune, and lived very happily

happily a good while; till he became acquainted with a lawyer, who, in looking over ſome old writings of his family, unluckily diſcovered certain parchments that gave him a right to an eſtate in the poſſeſſion of one of his neighbours: upon which he was perſuaded to go to law; and, after proſecuting his ſuit for twenty years, with a vexation that had almoſt turned his brain, he made the lawyer's fortune, reduced his neighbour to beggary, and had no ſooner gained his cauſe, but his creditors ſeized on both eſtates, and ſent him to enjoy his victory in a gaol.

A ſecond informed me, that he was a citizen, and born to a conſiderable eſtate, but, being covetous to improve it, had married a very rich heireſs, who was ſo vaſtly *genteel* in her expences, and found ſo many ways of *doing credit* to herſelf and her huſband, that ſhe quickly ſent him, from his new houſe near the court, to the lodgings in which I found him. Why did not you divorce her, ſaid I to him, when you found that her extravagance would be your ruin? Ah, Sir! replied he, I ſhould have been a happy man, if I could have caught her with a gallant; I might then have got rid of her by law: but, to my ſorrow, ſhe was virtuous as well as ugly; her only paſſions were equipage and gaming.—I was infinitely ſurprized, that a man ſhould wiſh to find his wife an adultreſs, or that he ſhould be obliged to keep

her to his undoing, only becauſe ſhe was not one.

Another ſaid, he was a gentleman of a good family, and, having a mind to riſe in the ſtate, ſpent ſo much money to purchaſe a ſeat in parliament, that, though he ſucceeded pretty well in his views at court, the ſalary did not pay the debt; and, being unable to get himſelf choſe again at the next election, he loſt his place and his liberty both together.

The next that I ſpoke to was reputed the beſt ſcholar in Europe: he underſtood the Oriental languages, and talked to me in very good Arabic.

I aſked how it was poſſible that ſo learned a man ſhould be in want, and whether all the books he had read could not keep him out of jail? Sir, ſaid he, thoſe books are the very things that brought me hither. Would to God I had been bred a cobler! I ſhould then have poſſeſſed ſome uſeful knowledge, and might have kept my family from ſtarving: but the world which I read of, and that I lived in, were ſo very different, that I was undone by the force of ſpeculation.

There was another, who had been bred to merchandize; but, being of too lively an imagination for the dulneſs of trade, he applied himſelf to poetry, and, neglecting his other buſineſs, was ſoon reduced to the ſtate I ſaw him in: but he aſſured me he ſhould not be long there; for his lucky confinement having

having given him more leiſure for ſtudy, he had quitted poetry, and taken to the mathematicks, by the means of which he had found out the longitude, and expected to obtain a great reward, which the government promiſed to the diſcoverer. I perceived he was not in his perfect ſenſes, and pitied ſuch an odd ſort of frenzy. But my compaſſion was infinitely greater for ſome unhappy people, who were ſhut up in that miſerable place, by having loſt their fortunes in the publick funds, or in private projects; of which this age and country have been very fruitful, and which, under the fallacious notion of great advantage, drew in the unwary to their deſtruction. I aſked in what *dungeon* they were confined, who had been the undoers of theſe wretched men? but, to my great ſurprize, was informed, that the *contrivers* of ſuch wicked projects had leſs reaſon than moſt men in England to be afraid of a jail. Good heaven! ſaid I, can it be poſſible that, in a country governed by laws, the innocent, who are cheated out of all, ſhould be put in priſon, and the villains who cheat them left at liberty! With this reflexion I ended my enquiries, and wiſhed myſelf ſafe out of a land where ſuch a mockery of juſtice is carried on.

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LETTER V.

SELIM *to* MIRRA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I WAS the other day in a houſe where I ſaw a ſight very ſtrange to a Perſian. There was a number of tables in the room, round which were placed ſeveral ſetts of men and women. They ſeemed wonderfully intent upon ſome *bits of painted paper*, which they held in their hands. I imagined at firſt that they were performing ſome magical ceremony, and that the figures I ſaw traced on the bits of paper were a myſtical taliſman or charm. What more confirmed me in this belief was the grimaces and diſtortions of their countenances, much like thoſe of our magicians in the act of conjuring: but enquiring of the gentleman that introduced me, I was told they were at *play*, and that *this* was the favourite diverſion of both ſexes.

We have quite *another* way of *diverting* ourſelves with the women in Perſia, anſwered I. But I ſee no ſigns of mirth among them: if they are merry, why do not they laugh, or ſing, or jump about? If I may judge of their hearts by their looks, half of theſe *revellers* are ready to hang themſelves! That may be, ſaid my friend; for very likely they are loſing more than they are worth.—How! ſaid I, do

you

you call that *play?*—Yes, replied he, they never are thoroughly pleaſed unleſs their whole fortunes are at ſtake. Thoſe *cards*, you ſee them hold, are to decide whether he who is now *a man of quality* ſhall be a *beggar*; or another, who is now a *beggar*, and has but juſt enough to furniſh out one night's play, ſhall be *a man of quality*.

The *laſt*, ſaid I, is in the right; for he ventures nothing: but what excuſe can be thought on for *the former?* are the nobility in England ſo indifferent to wealth and honour, to expoſe them without the leaſt neceſſity? I muſt believe that they are generally *ſure of winning*, and that thoſe *they* play with *have the odds againſt them*.

If the chance was only *equal*, anſwered he, it would be tolerable: but their adverſaries engage them *at great advantage*, and are too wiſe to leave any thing to fortune.

This comes, ſaid I, of your being allowed the uſe of wine. If theſe gentlemen and ladies were not quite *intoxicated* with that curſed liquor, they could not poſſibly act ſo abſurdly.—But why does not the government take care of them when they are in that condition? Methinks the fellows that *rob* them in this manner ſhould be brought to juſtice.

Alas! anſwered he, theſe *cheats* are an innocent ſort of people. They only prey upon the *vices* and *luxury* of *a few particulars:* but there are *others*, who raiſe eſtates by the *miſeries* and *ruin* of *their country*; who *game* not with their

their *own* money, but with that of the *publick*, and ſecurely *play away* the ſubſtance of the *orphan* and the *widow*, of the *huſbandman* and the *trader*. Till juſtice is done upon theſe, the others have a right to impunity: and it is no ſcandal to ſee *gameſters live like gentlemen*, where *ſtock-jobbers live like princes*.

LETTER VI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THOU wouldſt be aſtoniſhed to hear ſome women in this country talk of love: their diſcourſes about it are as refined as their notions of paradiſe, and they exclude the pleaſure of the ſenſes out of both. But, however ſatisfied they may be in the world to come with ſuch viſionary joys, it is my opinion, that the niceſt of them all, if ſhe were to enjoy her paradiſe here, would make it a Mahometan one. I had lately a converſation on this ſubject with one of theſe *platonics* (for that is the title they affect). In anſwer to all her pretty reaſonings, I told her the following tale of a fair lady, who was a *platonic* like herſelf.

The Loves of Ludovico *and* Honoria.

" The city of Genoa has been always famed, above any town in Europe, for the refinement of its gallantry. It is common there for a gentleman to profeſs himſelf the humble ſervant of a handſome woman, and wait upon her to every publick place for twenty years together, without ever ſeeing her in private, or being entitled to any greater favours than a kind look, or a touch of her fair hand. Of all this ſighing tribe, the moſt enamoured, the moſt conſtant, and the moſt reſpectful, was ſignor Ludovico. His miſtreſs, Honoria Grimaldi, only daughter to a ſenator of that name, was the greateſt beauty of the age in which ſhe lived, and, at the ſame time, the coyeſt and moſt reſerved. So great was her nicety in the point of love, that although ſhe could not be inſenſible to the addreſſes of ſignor Ludovico, yet ſhe could not bring herſelf to think of marrying her lover; which, ſhe ſaid, was admitting him to freedoms entirely inconſiſtent with the reſpect that character requires. In vain did he tell her of the violence of his paſſion for her. She anſwered, that hers for him was no leſs violent: but it was his mind ſhe loved, and could enjoy that without going to bed to him. Ludovico was ready to deſpair at theſe diſcourſes of his miſtreſs. He could not but admire ſuch fine ſentiments, yet he wiſhed ſhe

ſhe had not been quite ſo perfect. He writ her a very melancholy letter: and ſhe returned him one in verſe, full of ſublime expreſſions about love; but not a word that tended to ſatisfy the poor man's impatience. At laſt he applied himſelf to her father; and, to engage him to make uſe of his authority, offered to take Honoria without a portion. The father, who was a plain man, was mightily pleaſed with this propoſal, and made no difficulty to promiſe him ſucceſs. Accordingly he very roundly told his daughter, that ſhe muſt be married the next day, or go to a nunnery. This dilemma ſtartled her very much. In ſpite of all her repugnance to the marriage-bed, ſhe found ſomething about her ſtill more averſe to the idea of a cloiſter. An abſolute ſeparation from Ludovico was what ſhe could not bear: it was even worſe than an abſolute conjunction. In this diſtreſs ſhe did not know what to do; ſhe turned over above a hundred romances, to ſearch for precedents; and, after many ſtruggles with herſelf, reſolved to ſurrender upon terms. She therefore told her lover, that ſhe conſented to be his wife, provided ſhe might be ſo by degrees; and that, after the ceremony was over, he would not pretend at once to all the rights and privileges of a huſband; but allow her modeſty leiſure to make a gradual and decent retreat. Ludovico did not like ſuch a capitulation; but, rather than not have her, he was content to pay this laſt compliment to her

caprice. They were married: and, at the end of the firſt month, he was very happy to find himſelf arrived at the full enjoyment of her lips.

While he was thus gaining ground inch by inch, his father died, and left him a great eſtate in the iſland of Corſica. His preſence was neceſſary there; but he could not think of parting from Honoria. They embarked together; and Ludovico had good hopes, that he ſhould not only take poſſeſſion of his eſtate, but of his wife too, at his arrival. Whether it was, that Venus, who is ſaid to be born out of the ſea, was more powerful there than at land, or from the freedom which is uſual aboard a ſhip, it is ſure, that, during the voyage, he was indulged in greater liberties than ever he had preſumed to take before: nay, it is confidently aſſerted, that they were ſuch liberties as have a natural and irreſiſtible tendency to overcome all ſcruples whatſoever. But, while he was ſailing on with a fair wind, and almoſt *in the port*, Fortune, who took a pleaſure to perſecute him, brought an African corſair in their way, that quickly put an end to their dalliance, by making them his ſlaves.

Who can expreſs the affliction and deſpair of this loving couple, at ſo ſudden and ill-timed a captivity! Ludovico ſaw himſelf deprived of his virgin-bride, on the very point of obtaining all his wiſhes; and Honoria had reaſon to apprehend, that ſhe was fallen into

rougher hands than his, and ſuch as no conſiderations could reſtrain. But the martyrdom ſhe looked for in that inſtant was unexpectedly deferred till they came to Tunis. The corſair, ſeeing her ſo beautiful, thought her a miſtreſs worthy of his prince: and to him he preſented her at their landing, in ſpite of her own and her huſband's tears.—O unfortunate end of all her pure and heroical ſentiments! Was it for this that her favours were ſo long and ſo obſtinately denied to the tender Ludovico, to have them raviſhed in a moment by a rude barbarian, who did not ſo much as thank her for them? But let us leave her in the ſeraglio of the *dey*, and ſee what became of Ludovico after this cruel ſeparation. The corſair, finding him unfit for any labour, made uſe of him to teach his children muſick, in which he was perfectly well ſkilled. This ſervice would not have been very painful, if it had not been for the remembrance of Honoria, and the thought of the brutalities ſhe was expoſed to. Theſe were always in his head, night and day; and he imagined, that ſhe had by this time killed herſelf, rather than ſubmit to ſo groſs a violation. But, while he was thus tormenting himſelf for one woman, he gave equal uneaſineſs to another. His maſter's wife ſaw him often from her window, and fell violently in love with him.—The African ladies are utter ſtrangers to delicacy and refinement. She made no ſcruple to acquaint him with

her deſires, and ſent her favourite ſlave to introduce him by night into her chamber. Ludovico would fain have been excuſed, being aſhamed to commit ſuch an infidelity to his dear Honoria: but the ſlave informed him, that, if he hoped to live an hour, he muſt comply with her lady's inclinations; for that, in Africk, refuſals of that kind were always revenged with ſword or poiſon. No conſtancy could be ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſo terrible a menace: he therefore went to the rendezvous at the time appointed, where he found a miſtreſs infinitely more complying than his fantaſtical Italian. But in the midſt of their endearments they heard the corſair at the door of his wife's apartment. Upon the alarm of his coming, the frighted lover made the beſt of his way out of the window; which not being very high, he had the good fortune to get off unhurt. The corſair did not ſee him; but, by the confuſion his wife was in, he ſuſpected that ſomebody had been with her. His jealouſy directed him to Ludovico: and though he had no other proof than bare ſuſpicion, he was determined to puniſh him ſeverely, and at the ſame time ſecure himſelf for the future. He therefore gave orders to his eunuchs to put him in the ſame condition with themſelves; which inhuman command was performed with a Turkiſh rigour far more deſperate and compleat than any ſuch thing had been ever practiſed in Italy. But the change this operation wrought upon him,

him, ſo improved his voice, that he became the fineſt ſinger in all Africk. His reputation was ſo great, that the dey of Tunis ſent to beg him of his maſter, and preferred him to a place in his own ſeraglio. He had now a free acceſs to his Honoria, and an opportunity of contriving her eſcape. To that end he ſecretly hired a ſhip to be ready to carry them off, and did not doubt but he ſhould find her very willing to accompany his flight. It was not long before he ſaw her: and you may imagine the exceſs of her joy, at ſo ſtrange and agreeable a ſurprize.

Can it be poſſible, cried ſhe; can it be poſſible that I ſee you in this place! O my dear Ludovico, I ſhall expire in the pleaſure of your embraces. But by what magick could you get in, and deceive the vigilance of my tyrant and his guards?

My habit will inform you, anſwered he, in a ſofter tone of voice than ſhe had been uſed to: I am now happy in the loſs which I have ſuſtained, ſince it furniſhes me with the means of your delivery. Truſt yourſelf to me, my dear Honoria; and I will take you out of the power of this barbarian, who has ſo little regard to your delicacy. You may now be happier with me than you was before, as I ſhall not trouble you with *thoſe coarſe ſolicitations* which gave you ſo much uneaſineſs. We will love with the purity of angels, and leave ſenſual enjoy-

ments to the vulgar, who have not a reliſh for higher pleaſure.

How! ſaid Honoria, are you really no man? No, replied he; but I have often heard you ſay, that your love was only to my mind: and that, I do aſſure you, is ſtill the ſame. Alas! ſaid ſhe, I am ſorry mine is altered; but ſince my being here, I am turned Mahometan: and my religion will not ſuffer me to run away with an unbeliever. My new huſband has taught me certain doctrines unknown to me before; in the practice of which I am reſolved to live and die. Adieu! I tell thee, my conſcience will not permit me to have a longer converſation with ſuch an infidel."

Thus ended the Loves of Ludovico *and* Honoria.

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LETTER VII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I Have received thy anſwers to my letters with a pleaſure, which the diſtance I am at from my friends and country rendered greater than thou wouldſt believe. I find thee very impatient to be informed of the government and policy of this country, which I pro-

I promiſed to ſend thee ſome account of; but though I have been diligent in my enquiries, and loſt no time ſince my arrival here, I am unable to anſwer the queſtions thou demandeſt of me, otherwiſe than by acknowledging my ignorance.

I have, for inſtance, been often aſſured that the Engliſh parliament is a check to the king's authority; and yet I am well informed, that the only way to advancement at court, is to gain a ſeat in parliament.

The houſe of commons is the repreſentative of the nation; nevertheleſs there are many great *towns* which ſend *no* deputies thither, and many hamlets almoſt uninhabited that have a right of ſending *two*. Several members have never ſeen their electors; and ſeveral are elected by the *parliament*, who were rejected by the *people*. All the electors ſwear, not to *ſell* their voices: yet many of the candidates are undone by the expence of *buying them*. This whole affair is involved in deep myſtery, and inexplicable difficulties.

Thou aſkeſt if *commerce* be as flouriſhing as formerly? Some, whom I have conſulted on that head, ſay, it is now in its meridian: and there is really an appearance of its being ſo; for luxury is prodigiouſly increaſed, and it is hard to imagine how it can be ſupported without an inexhauſtible trade. But *others* pretend, that *this very luxury* is a proof of its decline: and they add, that

that the *frauds* and *villainies* in all the *trading* companies are ſo many inward poiſons, which, if not ſpeedily expelled, will deſtroy it intirely in a little time.

Thou wouldſt know if *property* be ſo ſafely guarded as is generally believed. It is certain, that the whole power of a king of England cannot force an acre of land from the weakeſt of his ſubjects; but a *knaviſh attorney* will take away his whole eſtate by thoſe very *laws* which were deſigned for its ſecurity. Nay, if I am not miſinformed, even thoſe who are choſen by the people to be the great guardians of property, have ſometimes taken more from them in one ſeſſion of parliament, for the moſt uſeleſs expences, than the moſt abſolute monarch could venture to raiſe upon the moſt urgent occaſions.

Theſe, Mirza, are the *contradictions* that perplex me. My judgement is bewildered in uncertainty: I doubt my own obſervations, and diſtruſt the relations of others. More time, and better information, may, perhaps, clear them up to me; till then, modeſty forbids me to impoſe my conjectures upon thee, after the manner of Chriſtian travellers, whoſe prompt deciſions are the effect rather of folly than penetration.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

AS I now underſtand *Engliſh* pretty well, I went laſt night with ſome friends to ſee a play. The principal character was a young fellow, who, in the ſpace of three or four hours that the action laſted, cuckolds two or three huſbands, and debauches as many virgins. I had heard that the Engliſh theatre was famous for killing people upon the ſtage: but this author was more for *propagating* than *deſtroying*.

There were a great many ladies at the repreſentation of this modeſt performance; and, though they ſometimes hid their faces with their fans (I ſuppoſe for fear of ſhewing that they did *not* bluſh), yet, in general, they ſeemed to be much delighted with the *fine gentleman's* heroical exploits. I muſt confeſs, ſaid I, this entertainment is far more *natural* than the opera, and I do not wonder that the ladies are *moved* at it: but if in Perſia we allowed our women to be preſent at ſuch ſpectacles as theſe, what would ſignify our bolts, our bars, our eunuchs? Though we ſhould double our jealouſy and care, they would ſoon get the better of all reſtraint,

and

and put in practice thoſe leſſons of the ſtage, which it is ſo much pleaſanter to ACT than to BEHOLD.

LETTER IX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

A Friend carried me lately to an aſſembly of the *beau monde*, which is a meeting of men and women of the firſt faſhion. The croud was ſo very great, that the two ſexes promiſcuouſly preſſed one another in a manner that ſeemed very extraordinary to Oriental eyes. I obſerved a young man and a beautiful young woman ſitting in a window together, and whiſpering one another with ſo much earneſtneſs, that neither the great noiſe in the room, nor number of paſſengers who rubbed by them continually, gave them the leaſt diſturbance. They looked at one another with the moſt animated tenderneſs: the lady eſpecially had in her eyes ſuch a mixture of *ſoftneſs* and *deſire*, that I expected every moment to ſee them *withdraw*, in order to ſatisfy their mutual impatience in a manner that even the *European liberty* would not admit of in ſo publick a place. I made my friend take notice of them, and

and aſked him *how long they had been married?* He ſmiled at my miſtake, and told me, they were *not* married; that the *lady*, indeed, had been married about a year and a half, to a man that ſtood at a little diſtance; but that the *gentleman* was an unmarried man of quality, who made it his buſineſs to corrupt other mens wives; that he had begun the winter with this lady; and that this was her *firſt affair* of that ſort, her huſband and ſhe having married *for love*.

As I had heard of many employed in the ſame manner, and could not perceive that they did any thing elſe; I aſked my friend, if there was any *ſeminary*, any *publick foundation*, for educating young men of quality to this *profeſſion*; and whether they could carry on the buſineſs without frequent interruptions from the reſpective huſbands? I will explain the whole matter to you, ſays he. There is, indeed, no publick foundation or academy for this purpoſe; but it depends upon the private care of their ſeveral parents, who, if I may uſe the expreſſion, *negatively* breed them up to this buſineſs, by making them entirely unfit for *any other*: for, leſt their ſons ſhould be diverted from the profeſſion of *gallantry* by a dull application to *graver* ſtudies, they give them a very ſuperficial tincture of learning; but take care to inſtruct them thoroughly in the more ſhewiſh parts of education,

education, ſuch as muſick, dreſſing, dancing, &c. By which means, when they come to be men, they naturally prefer the gay and eaſy converſation of the fair ſex, and are well received by them. As for the huſbands, they are the people in the world who give them the leaſt diſturbance: but, on the contrary, generally live in the ſtricteſt intimacy with thoſe who intend them the *favour* of *cuckoldom*. The marriage contract being here perpetual, though the cauſes of it are of ſhort duration, the moſt ſenſible men are deſirous of having ſome aſſiſtance to ſupport the *burthenſome perpetuity*. For inſtance, every man marries either *for money* or *for love*—In the firſt caſe, the *money* becomes his own as ſoon as the wife does; ſo that, having *had* what *he wanted* from *her*, he is very willing ſhe ſhould *have* what *ſhe wanted* from *any body* rather than from him. He is quiet at home, and fears no *reproaches*.

In the latter caſe, *the beauty* he married ſoon grows familiar by uninterrupted poſſeſſion: his own greedineſs ſurfeited him; he is aſhamed of his diſguſt, or at leaſt of his indifference, after all the tranſports of his firſt deſire; and gladly accepts terms of domeſtick peace through the *mediation of a lover*.

There are, indeed, ſome exceptions: ſome huſbands, who, preferring an old miſtaken point of honour to real peace and quiet at

home, disturb their wives pleasure: but they are very few, and are very ill looked upon.

I thanked my friend for explaining to me so extraordinary a piece of *domestick œconomy*; but could not help telling him, that, in my mind, *our* Persian *method* was more reasonable, of having *several wives* under the *care* of one *eunuch*, rather than *one wife* under the *care* of *several lovers*.

LETTER X.

SELIM *to* MIRZA, *at* Ispahan.

From London.

WE have often read together and admired the little history of the Troglodytes, related by our countryman Usbec with a spirit peculiar to his writings. Unequal as I am to the imitation of so excellent an author, I have a mind, in a continuation of that story, to shew thee by what steps, and through what changes, the original good of society is overturned, and mankind become wickeder and more miserable in a state of government, than they were when left in a state of nature.

Persian Letters from Paris, vol. I. Let. xi. to xiv.

Continuation

Continuation of the HISTORY *of the* TROGLODYTES.

" The Troglodytes were ſo affected with the virtue of the good old man who refuſed the crown which they had offered, that they determined to remain without a king. The love of the publick was ſo ſtrong in every particular, that there was no need of authority to enforce obedience. The law of nature and uncorrupted reaſon was engraven on their hearts: by that alone they governed all their actions, and on that alone they eſtabliſhed all their happineſs. But the moſt perfect felicity of mortal men is ſubject to continual diſturbance. Thoſe *barbarians*, whom they had defeated ſome time before, ſtirred up by a deſire of revenge, invaded them again with greater forces. They fell upon them unawares, carried off their flocks and herds, burnt their houſes, and led their women captive: every thing was in confuſion, and the want of order made them incapable of defence. They ſoon found the neceſſity of uniting under a ſingle chief. As the danger required vigour and alacrity, they pitched upon a young man of diſtinguiſhed courage, and placed him at their head. He led them on with ſo much ſpirit and good conduct, that he ſoon forced the enemy to retire, and recovered all the ſpoil.

The

The Troglodytes ſtrewed flowers in his way, and, to reward the ſervice he had done them, preſented him with the moſt beautiful of the virgins he had delivered from captivity. But, animated by his fortune, and unwilling to part with his command, he adviſed them to make themſelves amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, by carrying the war into the enemy's country; which, he ſaid, would not be able to reſiſt their victorious arms. Deſirous to puniſh thoſe wicked men, they very gladly came into his propoſal. But an old Troglodyte, ſtanding up in the aſſembly, endeavoured to perſuade them to gentler councils. "The "goodneſs of God, ſaid he, O my coun- "trymen, has given us ſtrength to repulſe "ou renemies; and they have paid very dearly "for moleſting us. What more do you de- "ſire from your victory, than peace and "ſecurity to yourſelves, repentance and ſhame "to your invaders? It is propoſed to invade "them in your turn, and you are told it "will be eaſy to ſubdue them. But to what "end would you ſubdue them, when they "are no longer in a condition to hurt you? "do you deſire to tyrannize over them? "Have a care that, in learning to be *tyrants*, "you do not alſo learn to be *ſlaves*. If "you know how to value liberty as you "ought, you will not deprive others of it, "who, though unjuſt, are men like your- "ſelves, and ſhould not be oppreſſed."

This wiſe remonſtrance was not heeded, in the temper the people was then in. The ſight of the deſolations that had been cauſed by the late irruption, made them reſolve on a violent revenge. Beſides, they were now grown fond of war, and the young men eſpecially were eager of a new occaſion to ſignalize their valour. Greater powers were therefore given to the general; and the event was anſwerable to his promiſes; for, in a ſhort time, he ſubdued all the nations that had joined in the league againſt the Troglodytes. The merit of this ſucceſs ſo endeared him to that grateful people, that, in the heat and riot of their joy, they unanimouſly choſe him for their king, without preſcribing any bounds to his authority. They were too innocent to ſuſpect any abuſe of ſuch a generous truſt; and thought that, when Virtue was on the throne, the moſt abſolute government was the beſt.

LETTER XI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE firſt act of the new king was, to diſpoſe of the conquered lands. One ſhare of them, by general conſent, he allotted to himſelf; and the reſt he divided among thoſe who were companions of his victory. Diſtinction of rank and inequality of condition were then firſt introduced among the Troglodytes: ſome grew rich, and immediately compariſon made others poor. From this ſingle root ſprang up a thouſand miſchiefs; pride, envy, avarice, diſcontent, deceit, and violence. Unheard-of diſorders were committed; nor was any regard paid to the deciſions of ancient cuſtom, or the dictates of natural juſtice. Particulars could no longer be allowed to judge of right; it became neceſſary to determine it by ſtated laws. The whole nation applied to the prince, to make thoſe laws, and take care of their execution. But the prince, unequal alone to ſuch a difficult taſk, was obliged to have recourſe to the oldeſt and wiſeſt of his ſubjects for aſſiſtance. He had not yet ſo forgot himſelf, by being ſeated on a new-erected throne, as to imagine that he was become all-ſufficient, or that he was placed there to govern by his

caprice. It was therefore his greateſt care how to ſupply his own defects, by the counſels of thoſe who were moſt famed for their knowledge and abilities.

Thus a ſenate was formed, which, with the king, compoſed the legiſlature; and thus the people freely bound themſelves, by conſenting to ſuch regulations as the king and ſenate ſhould decree.

LETTER XII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE inſtitution of laws among the Troglodytes, was attended with this inevitable ill effect, that they began to think every thing was right, which was not legally declared to be a crime. It ſeemed as if the natural obligations to virtue were deſtroyed, by the foreign influence of human authority; and vice was not ſhunned as a real evil, but grew to be thought a forbidden good.

One Troglodyte ſaid to himſelf, "I have "made advantage of the ſimplicity of my "neighbour, to over-reach him in a bargain: "he may reproach me, perhaps; but he cannot "puniſh me; for the law allows me to rob "him with his own conſent."

Another was aſked by his friend for a ſum of money, which he had lent him ſome years before.

Have you any thing to ſhew for it? anſwered he.

A third was implored to remit part of his tenant's rent, becauſe the man, by unavoidable misfortunes, was become very poor. Do not you ſee, replied he, that he has ſtill enough to maintain his family? By ſtarving

them, he may find money to pay me; and the law requires him ſo to do.

Thus the hearts of the Troglodytes were hardened; but a greater miſchief ſtill enſued. The laws in their firſt framing were few and plain, ſo that any man could eaſily underſtand them, and plead his own cauſe without an advocate.

Some inconveniences were found to flow from this. The rules were too general and looſe: too much was left to the equity of the judge, and many particular caſes ſeemed to remain undetermined and unprovided for. It was therefore propoſed in the great council of the nation, to ſpecify all thoſe ſeveral exceptions; to tie the judges down to certain forms; to explain, correct, add to, and reſerve, whatſoever might ſeem capable of any doubtful or different interpretations. While the matter was yet in deliberation, a wiſe old ſenator ſpoke thus:

"You are endeavouring, O Troglodytes, "to amend what is defective in your laws; "but know, that, by multiplying laws, you "will certainly multiply defects. Every new "explanation will produce a new objection; "and at laſt the very principles will be loſt, "on which they were originally formed. "Mankind may be governed, and well go-"verned, under any laws that are fixed by "ancient uſe. Beſides their being known "and underſtood, they have a ſanctity attend-"ing them, which commands obedience; but

"every

" every variation, as it discovers a weakness
" in them, so it lessens the respect by which
" alone they can be effectually maintained.
" If subtleties and distinctions are admitted to
" constitute right, they will equally be made
" use of to evade it: and if justice is turned
" into a science, injustice will soon be made
" a trade."

LETTER XIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

AS the old man foretold, it came to paſs. The laws were *explained* into *contradictions*, and *digeſted* into *confuſion*. Men could no longer tell what was their right, and what was not. A ſett of Troglodytes undertook to find it out for all the reſt: but they were far from doing it out of pure benevolence: their opinions were ſold at no little price; and how falſe ſoever they might prove in the event of the cauſe, the money was never to be returned. Nay, the longer the diſpute could be protracted, the more the parties concerned were to pay. This point being once well eſtabliſhed, cauſes, that before were diſpatched in half an hour, now laſted half a century. There were three courts placed one above another: on the door of the loweſt was writ, *Law*; on that of the ſecond, *Equity*; and on the higheſt, *Common Senſe*. Theſe courts had no connexion with one another, and a quite different method of proceeding. No man could go to the laſt, without paſſing through one of the former: and the journey was ſo tedious, that very few could ſupport the fatigue or the expence. But there was one

particular more ſtrange than all the reſt. It was very ſeldom that a man could read a word of the parchment by which he held his eſtate; and they made their wills in a language which neither they nor their heirs could underſtand.

Such were the refinements of the Troglodytes, when they had quitted the ſimplicity of nature; and ſo bewildered were they in the labyrinth of their own laying out.

LETTER XIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE religion of the Troglodytes had been hitherto as ſimple as their manners. They loved God as the author of their happineſs; they feared him as the avenger of injuſtice; and they ſought to pleaſe him by doing good. But, their morals being corrupted, their religion could not long continue pure: ſuperſtition found means to introduce itſelf, and compleated their depravation. Their firſt king, who had been a conqueror and a law-giver, died, after a long reign, extremely regretted and revered by his ſubjects. His ſon ſucceeded, not by any claim of hereditary right, but the free election of the people, who loved a family that had done them ſo many ſervices. As he was ſenſible that he owed his crown to their veneration for the memory of his father, he endeavoured to carry that veneration as high as poſſible. He built a tomb for him, which he planted round with laurels, and cauſed verſes to be ſolemnly recited in praiſe of his atchievements. When he perceived that theſe honours were well received in the opinion of the publick, he thought he might venture to go farther. He got it to be propoſed in the ſenate, that the dead monarch ſhould be deified, after the example of many nations round

about them, who had paid the ſame compliment to their kings. The ſenators were become too good courtiers, not to give into ſo agreeable a piece of flattery, eſpecially as their own honour was concerned in raiſing the character of their founder: and the people, ſeduced by their gratitude, thought that thoſe virtues, which had rendered him the protector and father of his country, very juſtly entitled him to a ſubordinate ſhare of divinity.

It is not to be conceived how many evils this alteration produced.

Then firſt the Troglodytes were made to believe, that their God was to be gained by rich donations; or that his glory was concerned in the worldly pomp and power of his prieſts. A temple, ſaid thoſe prieſts, is like a court: you muſt gain the favour of the miniſters, or your petitions will not be received. As the people remembered that their new deity had once been a king, this doctrine ſeemed plauſible enough: and the prieſts grew abſolute on the ſtrength of it. They procured for themſelves exceſſive wealth, exemptions from all publick burthens, and almoſt a total independence upon the civil authority. That the compariſon between the temple and the court might hold the better, a great number of ceremonies were invented, and a magnificence of dreſs was added to them as eſſential to holineſs. The women came warmly into this, and were ſtill more zealous than the

men

men in their attachment to the exterior part of devotion. By degrees the *invisible God*, whom their fathers had worshiped alone, was wholly forgot: and all the vows of the people were paid to the idol, whose superstitious worship was better adapted to human passions, and to the gain of the priests. Expiations, lustrations, sacrifices, processions, and pilgrimages, made up the whole of religion. Thus the piety of the Troglodytes was turned aside from reality to form: and it was no longer a consequence, that a very *religious* man was a very *honest* man.

LETTER XV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

IN my laſt letter I told thee how much the Troglodytes were depraved in their notions, and in their manners, from their idolatry. By the arts of the prieſthood, their corruption encreaſed every day: and *virtue*, inſtead of being aſſiſted, was overturned by *religion itſelf*. It was common for a Troglodyte to ſay, "I will plunder my neighbour "or the publick: for the anger of our God "may be appeaſed by an offering made out "of the ſpoil."

Another quieted his conſcience in this manner: "I am, indeed, a very great vil-"lain, and have injured my benefactor: but I "am a conſtant attender on all proceſſions, "and have crawled thrice round the temple "upon my knees."

A third confeſſed to a prieſt, That he had defrauded his ward of an eſtate. "Give half "of it to our order," ſaid the confeſſor; "and "we will freely endow you with the reſt."

But the miſchief did not ſtop even here. From ſanctifying trifles, they proceeded to quarrel about them: and the peace of the ſociety was diſturbed, to know which impertinence ſhould be preferred. This was the

the work of the prieſts, who took upon them to declare what was moſt agreeable to their God: and declared it differently, as it happened that their paſſions or intereſts required. But, how ſlight ſoever the foundation was, a diſpute of this nature never failed to be warmly carried on. Nobody concerned himſelf about the morals of another; but every man's opinions were enquired into with the utmoſt rigour: and woe to thoſe who held any that were diſliked by the ruling party; for though neither ſide could tell the reaſon why they differed, the difference was never to be forgiven. An aged Troglodyte endeavoured to put a ſtop to this pious fury, by repreſenting to them, "That their anceſ-"tors, who were better men, had no diſ-"putes about religion; but ſerved their God "in the only unity required by him, an "unity of affection." All the poor man got by this admonition was, to be called an atheiſt by all the contending ſects, and, after ſuffering a thouſand perſecutions, compelled to take refuge in another land.

LETTER XVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE court had a deeper intereſt in the eſtabliſhment of the idolatrous prieſthood among the Troglodytes, than was at firſt attended to, or foreſeen. The very nature of their office particularly attached them to the crown. They were ſervants of a deified king: and it was no very great ſtretch of their fuction, to deify the living monarch alſo. Accordingly they preached to all the people, with an extroaordinary warmth of zeal, that the family then reigning was *divine:* that they held the crown, not by the will of the ſociety, but by a pre-eminence of nature: that to reſiſt their pleaſure, was reſiſting God: and that every man enjoyed his life and eſtate by their grace, and at their diſpoſal. In conſequence of theſe doctrines, his *ſacred majeſty* did juſt what he thought fit. He was of a martial genius, and had a ſtrong ambition to enlarge his territories. To this end he raiſed a mighty army, and fell upon his neighbours without a quarrel.

The Troglodytes loſt their blood, and ſpent their ſubſtance, to make their prince triumphant in a war which could not poſſibly turn to their advantage: for the power and

pride

pride of their tyrant increaſed with his ſucceſs. His temper too became fiercer and more ſevere, by being accuſtomed to ſlaughter and devaſtation: ſo that his government grew odious to his ſubjects. Yet the dazzling glory of his victories, and the divinity they were taught to find about him, kept them in awe, and ſupported his authority. But Providence would not ſuffer him any longer to vex mankind. He periſhed, with a great part of his army, by the united valour of many nations, who had allied themſelves againſt his encroachments. Content with having puniſhed the aggreſſor and author of the war, they immediately offered a peace to the Troglodytes, upon condition, that all ſhould be reſtored which had been taken from them in the former wars. That nation, humbled by their defeat, very willingly parted with their conqueſts, to purchaſe their repoſe.

LETTER XVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

UNDER their third king, who ſucceeded to his father upon a new notion of hereditary and divine right, the ſpirit of the government was wholly changed. He was young, and of a temper much addicted to eaſe and pleaſure; yet bred up with high conceits of kingly power, and a royal diſregard to his people's good. There was a mixture of bigotry in his diſpoſition, which gave the prieſts a great advantage over him; and as his predeceſſor had governed by them, they now governed by him. The people too, in imitation of their prince, ſoon contracted another character; they began to poliſh and ſoften all their manners. The young Troglodytes were ſent to travel into Perſia; they came back with new dreſſes, new refinements, new follies, and new vices. Like a plague imported from a foreign country, luxury ſpread itſelf from theſe travellers over all the nation. A thouſand wants were created every day, which nature neither ſuggeſted nor could ſupply. A thouſand uneaſineſſes were felt, which were as unnatural as the pleaſures that occaſioned them. When the minds of the Troglodytes

were thus relaxed, their bodies became weak. They now complained that the ſummer was too hot, and the winter too cold. They loſt the uſe of their limbs, and were carried about on the ſhoulders of their ſlaves. The women brought their children with more pain, and even thought themſelves too delicate to nurſe them: they loſt their beauty much ſooner than before, and vainly ſtrove to repair it by the help of art. Then firſt phyſicians were called in from foreign lands, to contend with a variety of new diſtempers, which intemperance produced: they came; and the only advantage was, that thoſe who had learned to live at a great expence, now found the ſecret of dying at a greater.

Such was the condition of the Troglodytes, when, by the benefit of a laſting peace, they taſted the ſweets of plenty, and grew *polite*.

LETTER XVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE ancient Troglodytes were too buſy in the duties and cares of ſociety, to employ much of their thoughts in ſpeculation. They were ſkilful in mechanicks and agriculture, the only ſciences for which they had any uſe. Experience taught them the properties of many medicinal herbs, roots, and plants, with which they cured the few ailments that they were ſubject to in their ſerene and temperate life.

At their leiſure, they amuſed themſelves with muſick and poetry, and ſung the praiſe of the Divine Being, the beauties of nature, the virtues of their countrymen, and their own loves. They ſhewed a wonderful force of imagination in a great number of fables which they invented, under moſt of which was concealed ſome moral ſentiment: but for hiſtory, they contented themſelves with ſome ſhort accounts of publick tranſactions, drawn from the memory of the oldeſt men among them, and written without any art; having no party diſputes, no ſeditions, no plots, no intrigues of ſtate, to record. The alteration of their government and manners produced a change alſo in this reſpect. A great many people withdrew

themſelves entirely from the offices of life, and became a burthen to their family and country, under a notion of ſtudy and meditation. One ſett of them very modeſtly undertook to explain all the ſecrets of nature, and account for her operations. Another left nature quite behind, and fell to reaſon about immaterial ſubſtances, and the properties of ſpirits. A third profeſſed to teach reaſon by a rule: and invented arguments to confute common ſenſe*. Theſe philoſophers (for ſo they ſtyled themſelves) were to be known from all mankind by a certain air, made up of baſhfulneſs and preſumption. To diſtinguiſh themſelves from the vulgar, they forgot how to ſay or do one common thing like other men.

This rendered their behaviour very awkward, and they were conſcious of it; for which reaſon they came little into company: yet in private their pride ſwelled to ſuch a pitch, that they imagined they were arrived at the very top of human merit, and looked down with contempt on the greateſt generals and beſt ſervants of the ſtate. Among the various ſpeculations that this modern faſhion

* This paſſage is not to be underſtood as deſigning any reflexion upon men of *true learning*, but as a cenſure of the different kinds of *falſe learning*; ſuch as the ſubtilties of metaphyſicks and logick, and the natural philoſophy of Deſcartes and others, who preſume to explain and account for all things by *ſyſtems* drawn out of their own imagination.

of

of philoſophizing produced, there were two more pernicious than the reſt, and which greatly contributed to the corruption and ruin of the people. One was, that vice and virtue were in themſelves indifferent things, and depended only on the laws of every country: the other, that there was neither reward nor puniſhment after this life.—It has already been obſerved how many defects the Troglodytes found in their laws, and how many quibbles were invented to elude them. But ſtill there was ſome reſtraint upon their actions, while a ſenſe of guilt was attended with remorſe, and the apprehenſion of ſuffering in another ſtate. But by theſe two doctrines men were left at perfect liberty to ſin out of the reach of the law; and virtue was deprived of glory here, or the hopes of recompence hereafter. There was a third notion, leſs impious indeed, but of very ill conſequence to ſociety, which placed all goodneſs and religion in a *recluſe and contemplative way of life*.

The effect of this was, to draw off many of the beſt and worthieſt men from the ſervice of the publick, and adminiſtration of the commonwealth, at a time when their labours were moſt wanted to put a ſtop to the general corruption.—It is hard to ſay, which was moſt deſtructive, an opinion that, like the former, emboldened vice, or ſuch a one as rendered virtue impotent and uſeleſs to mankind.

LETTER XIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

WHILE the principles of the people were thus depraved, and their underſtandings taken off from their proper objects, the court became the centre of immorality and every kind of folly. Though flattery had been always buſy there, yet the former kings, who were frequently at war, had been uſed to a certain military freedom; and there were not wanting men about them, who had courage to tell them truth: but the effeminacy of the preſent ſett of courtiers took from them all ſpirit as well as virtue; and they were as ready to ſuffer the baſeſt things, as to act the moſt unjuſt. The king, wholly devoted to his pleaſures, thought it ſufficient for him to wear the crown, without troubling himſelf with any of the cares and duties belonging to it. The whole exerciſe and power of the government was lodged in the hands of a grand vizir, the firſt of that title which the Troglodytes had ever known. It ſeemed very ſtrange to them at the beginning, to ſee the royalty transferred to their fellow-ſubject; and many thought

thought it was debaſing it too much. The prieſts themſelves were at a loſs how to make out that this ſort of monarchy was divine: however, they found at laſt, that the grand vizir was a god by office, though not by birth. If this diſtinction did not ſatisfy the people, the court and the prieſts were not much concerned about it.—But a prime miniſter was not the only novelty theſe times produced.

The Troglodytes had always been remarkable for the manner in which they uſed their women. They had a greater eſteem for them than any other of the Eaſtern nations. They admitted them to a conſtant ſhare in their converſation, and even entruſted them with their private affairs: but they never ſuſpected that they had a genius for publick buſineſs; and that not only their own families, but the ſtate itſelf, might be governed by their direction. They were now convinced of their miſtake. Several ladies appeared together at the helm: the king's miſtreſs, the miſtreſs of the vizir, two or three miſtreſſes of the vizir's favourite officers, joined in a political confederacy, and managed all matters as they pleaſed. Their lovers gave nothing, and acted nothing, but by their recommendation and advice. Sometimes indeed they differed among themſelves, which occaſioned great confuſions in the ſtate. But, by the pacifick labours of good ſubjects, and the king's interceſſion, ſuch

unhappy diviſions were compoſed, and buſineſs went quietly on again. If there was any defect in the politicks of theſe female rulers, it was, that they could never comprehend any other point or purpoſe in the art of government but ſo much *profit to themſelves*.

The hiſtory of the Troglodytes has recorded ſome of their wiſe and witty ſayings.

One of them was told, that, by the great decay of trade, the principal bank of the city would be broke. What care I? ſaid ſhe. I have laid my money out in land.

Another was warned, that, if better meaſures were not taken, the Troglodytes threatened to revolt. I am glad to hear it, replied ſhe; for, if we beat them, there will ſome rich confiſcations fall to me.

LETTER XX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

PAINFUL experience had, by this time, taught the Troglodytes what their fathers were too happy to ſuſpect; that human nature was not perfect enough to be truſted with *unlimited* power: they ſaw an evident neceſſity of reſtraining that which had been given to their kings, as well for the dignity of the crown itſelf, as for the good of the commonwealth.

The whole nation unanimouſly concurred in this reſolution; and that unanimity could not be reſiſted. They therefore conſidered by what means to reform their government, and did it with equal vigour and moderation. It was decreed, that the crown ſhould be preſerved to the prince then reigning, out of reſpect to the family he was of; but that he ſhould wear it under certain limitations, which divided his authority with the ſenate.

To prevent the miſchiefs that might ariſe from evil miniſters, and the too great power of any favourite, they declared, that the miniſters of the king were the ſervants of the people, and could not be protected by the court, if they were found diſloyal to the nation.

Under

Under theſe wiſe regulations the ſhattered ſtate recovered itſelf again: their affairs were managed with more diſcretion, and many publick grievances were redreſſed. They thought that, in limiting their monarchy, they had cut the root of all their evils, and flattered themſelves with a permanent felicity. But they quickly diſcovered that this new ſyſtem was not without its inconveniences. Very favourable opportunities were ſometimes loſt by the unavoidable ſlowneſs of their councils, and it was often neceſſary to truſt more people with the ſecret of publick buſineſs than could be relied on with ſecurity. There were many evils, which the nature of their government obliged them to connive at, and which grew, as it were, out of the very root of it. The abuſe of liberty was inſeparable, in many points, from liberty itſelf, and degenerated into a ſhameleſs licentiouſneſs. But the principal miſchief, attending on this change, was the diviſion of the ſenate into parties. Different judgements, different intereſts and paſſions, were perpetually claſhing with one another: and, by the unequal motion of its wheels, the whole machine went but heavily along.

Yet one advantage aroſe from this diſorder, that the people were kept alert, and upon their guard. The animoſities and emulation of particulars ſecured the commonwealth: as, in a ſeraglio, the honour of the huſband is

preſerved

preſerved by the malice of the eunuchs, and mutual jealouſies of the women.

Upon the whole, the Troglodytes might have been happy in the liberty they had gained, if the ſame publick ſpirit which eſtabliſhed, could have continued to maintain it.

LETTER XXI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE was in the ſenate a certain man of great natural cunning and penetration, factious, enterprizing, verſed in buſineſs, and above all, very knowing in the diſpoſition of the times in which he lived. This man came ſecretly to the king, and entertained him with the following diſcourſe:

"I perceive, Sir, you are very much caſt "down with the bounds that have been ſet to "your authority: but perhaps you have not "loſt ſo much as you imagine.—The people "are very proud of their own work, and look "with great ſatisfaction on the outſide of their "new-erected government: but thoſe who "can ſee the inſide too, find every thing too "rotten and ſuperficial to laſt very long.

"The two things in nature the moſt repug-"nant and inconſiſtent with each other, are

"the

" the love of liberty, and the love of money. " The laſt is ſo ſtrong among your ſubjects, " that it is impoſſible the former can ſubſiſt. " I ſay, Sir, they are not HONEST enough to " be FREE.—Look round the nation, and ſee " whether their manners agree with their con- " ſtitution. Is there a virtue which want does " not diſgrace, or a vice which riches cannot " dignify? has not luxury infected all degrees " of men amongſt them? which way is that " luxury to be ſupported? It muſt neceſſarily " create a dependence, which will ſoon put " an end to this dream of liberty. Have you " a mind to fix your power on a ſure and laſting " baſis? Fix it on the vices of mankind: ſet up " private intereſt againſt publick; apply to the " wants and vanities of particulars; ſhew thoſe " who lead the people, that they may better " find their account in betraying than defending " them. This, Sir, is a ſhort plan of ſuch a " conduct as would make you really ſuperior " to all reſtraint, without breaking in upon " thoſe *nominal ſecurities*, which the Troglo- " dytes are more attached to a great deal than " they are to the things themſelves. If you " pleaſe to truſt the management to me, I ſhall " not be afraid of being obnoxious to the *ſpirit* " *of liberty*; for in a little while I will extin- " guiſh every ſpark of it: nor of being liable " to the *juſtice* of the nation; for my *crime* " itſelf ſhall be my *protection*."

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LETTER XXII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is a very pretty, fair-complexioned girl, who lodges in a houſe over-againſt me. She was always ſtaring at me from her window, and ſeemed to ſolicit my regards by a thouſand little airs, that I cannot deſcribe, but which touched me ſtill more than all her beauty. At laſt I became ſo enamoured of her, that I reſolved to demand her in marriage. Accordingly I went to viſit her in form; and was received by her mother, a widow gentlewoman, who deſired very civilly to know my buſineſs.

Madam, ſaid I, I have a garden at Iſpahan, adorned with the fineſt flowers in the Eaſt: I have the Perſian jaſmine, the Indian roſe, the violet of Media, and the tulip of Candahar. but I have lately beheld an Engliſh lily, more fair than all theſe, and far more ſweet, which I deſire to tranſplant into my garden. This lily, Madam, is now in your poſſeſſion; and I come a ſuppliant to you that I may obtain it.

The old lady, not conceiving what I meant, began to aſſure me very faithfully that I was miſtaken, for ſhe had neither lily nor roſe belonging to her.

The lily, returned I, is your lovely daughter, whom I come to aſk of you for my wife.

What do you propoſe to ſettle on her? replied ſhe. That is the firſt point to be conſidered.

I will do by her very handſomely, anſwered I; I will ſettle upon her—*two black eunuchs*, an expert old midwife, and ſix or ſeven very adroit female ſlaves.

Two *blacks*, anſwered ſhe, are well enough: but I ſhould think *two French footmen* would be *genteeler*.

However, Sir, we will not quarrel about *her equipage*. The queſtion is, What *proviſion* you think of making—

Do not trouble yourſelf about that, returned I:—She ſhall have *meat* enough, I warrant you, plenty of *rice*, and the beſt *ſherbet* in all *Perſia*.

Do not tell me of *rice* and *ſherbet*, ſaid the old woman: I aſk what *jointure* you will give her?

This word ſtopped me ſhort; for I did not know what a *jointure* ſignified. At laſt ſhe explained herſelf, by demanding of me, how her daughter was to live if I ſhould die?

I have an Indian wife, anſwered I, that intends to *burn herſelf* as ſoon as I expire: but I would not recommend that method to your daughter.

How! ſaid ſhe—you are married then already! Yes, ſaid I, in Perſia we are allowed to *take* as many women as we can

keep: and ſome, I am ſure, of the moſt faſhionable men in *England* do the ſame, only leaving out *the ceremony*.

It is a very wicked practice, anſwered ſhe:—but, ſince it is your religion ſo to do, and that my daughter's *fortune* is too ſmall to get a huſband among Chriſtians, I am not much averſe to give her to you upon reaſonable terms, becauſe I am told you are very *rich*.

She had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words, when my little miſtreſs, who had been liſtening to our diſcourſe behind the ſcreen, came out from her concealment, and told her mother, "That, if ſo many women were "to live together, ſhe was ſure there would "be no peace in the family; and therefore "ſhe deſired her to inſiſt on a good *pin-* "*money* (that is to ſay, as the term was "explained to me, a great *independent al-* "*lowance*) in caſe her huſband and ſhe "ſhould *diſagree*."

What, ſaid I, young lady, do you think already of *ſeparating your* intereſts from *mine?* and muſt I be obliged to pay my wife *for living ill with me*, as much as I ſhould *for living well?*

No — by Hali — I will never wed a woman who is ſo determined to *rebel* againſt her huſband, that ſhe *articles* for it in the very contract of her marriage!

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

THERE is at London a native of Aleppo, who has reſided here ſome years as a private agent for ſome merchants of that city, and paſſes for a Jew. They call him Zabulon, but his true name is Abdallah, the ſon of Abderamen. He has revealed himſelf to me: and I have contracted a great intimacy with him. There never was an honeſter, more friendly, or more valuable man: but he is as much a bigot to all the Eaſtern notions, and as much a ſtranger to every thing in England, as he was the firſt hour of his arrival. For my part, Mirza, I ſet out with a reſolution to give up my hereditary prejudices, and form my mind to bear different opinions, as my body to ſuffer different climates. Nay, if I may ſay ſo, I began my travels a good while before I went abroad, by reading, enquiring, and reaſoning, about the manners and inſtitutions of other countries. I had lived long enough under the yoke of an arbitrary government, to ſee the miſery of it, and value liberty. I am now come into an iſland where that liberty is happily eſtabliſhed, and where I may learn to know it by its effects.

effects. This, Mirza, is the ſtudy that I purſue; and it demands the utmoſt attention I can give. In abſolute monarchies, all depends on the character of the prince, or of his miniſters: and when that is known, you have little more to learn; but in mixed governments, the machine is more complex, and it requires a nicer obſervation to underſtand how the ſprings of it are diſpoſed, or how they mutually cheque and aſſiſt each other.

When I talk to Abdallah on this ſubject, he tells me, it is not worth my while to trouble myſelf about it: for that any form of government is good, if it *be well adminiſtered*. But the queſtion is, which is *moſt likely* to be *well adminiſtered*, that is, which has *beſt* ſecured itſelf, by wholeſome proviſions and reſtraints, againſt the danger of a *bad adminiſtration*.

LETTER XXIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

AS I was walking in the fields near this city the other morning, a diſbanded ſoldier, ſomewhat in years, implored my charity, and, to excite my compaſſion, bared his boſom, on which were the ſcars of many wounds, all received in the ſervice of his country. I gladly relieved his wants; and, being deſirous to inform myſelf of every thing, fell into diſcourſe with him on the war in which he had ſerved. He told me, he had been preſent at the taking of ten or twelve ſtrong towns, and had a ſhare in the danger and glory of almoſt as many victories. How then, ſaid I, comes it to paſs that thou art laid aſide? Thy ſtrength is indeed in its decline, but not yet waſted; and I ſhould think that experience would well ſupply the loſs of youth. Alas! Sir, anſwered he, I have a good heart and tolerable limbs, but I want three inches more of ſtature: I am brave and able enough, thank God, but not quite handſome enough for a ſoldier.

How then didſt thou ſerve ſo long, returned I? In Flanders, Sir, ſaid he, there were ſome thouſands ſuch ill-looking fellows,

who did very well in a day of battle, but would make no figure at a review.—Beſides, I have no *vote* for any county, city, or borough, in *England*; and therefore could not hope for preferment in the army, were I ever ſo *well made.* This laſt objection appeared to me very odd; but of all the novelties I have met with in Europe, none ever ſurprized me ſo much, as that a qualification for military ſervice ſhould be ſuppoſed to conſiſt in ſmug looks, and a certain degree of tallneſs, more than experienced courage, and hardy ſtrength.

If women were to raiſe and employ troops, I ſhould not, indeed, much wonder at ſuch a choice; but God grant our invincible ſultan an army of veteran ſoldiers, though there were not a man among them above five feet hig, or a face that would not frighten an enemy with the very looks of it!

LETTER XXV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is a ſett of people in this country, whoſe activity is more uſeleſs than the idleneſs of a monk. They are like thoſe troubleſome dreams, which often agitate and perplex us in our ſleep, but leave no impreſſion behind them when we wake. I have ſent thee an epitaph made for one of theſe *men of buſineſs*, who ended his life and labours not long ago.

Here lies ———, *who lived threeſcore and ten years in a continual hurry. He had the honour of ſitting in ſix parliaments, of being chairman in twenty-five committees, and of making three hundred and fifty ſpeeches. He attended conſtantly twice a week at the levees of twelve different miniſters of ſtate; and writ for and againſt them one thouſand papers. He compoſed fifty new projects for the better government of the church and ſtate. He left behind him memoirs of his own life in five volumes in folio.*

Reader, if thou ſhouldſt be moved to drop a tear for the loſs of ſo CONSIDERABLE A PERSON, *it will be a* SINGULAR *favour to the* deceaſed; *for nobody elſe concerns himſelf about it, or remembers that ſuch a man was ever born.*

LET-

LETTER XXVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I WENT with my friend the other day to a great hall, where all the courts of law were ſitting together. Behold, ſaid he, the temple of *juſtice*, the ſanctuary of privilege and right, which our mightieſt monarchs have not been able to violate with impunity. Behold the loweſt of our commons contending here with the higheſt of our nobles, unawed by their dignity or power. See thoſe venerable ſages on the bench, whoſe ears are deaf to ſolicitation, and their hands untainted with corruption. See alſo thoſe twelve men, whom we call the *jury*, the great bulwark of our property and freedom. But then caſt your eyes on thoſe men in black, that ſwarm on every ſide. Theſe are the prieſts of the temple, who, like moſt other prieſts, have turned their miniſtry into a trade: they have perplexed, confounded, and encumbered law, in order to make themſelves more neceſſary, and to drain the purſes of the people.—I have heard, ſaid I, that the laws of England are wiſely *framed* and impartially *adminiſtered*. The old *Gothic* pile we are now in, replied my friend, will give you a juſt idea of their *ſtructure*. The

foundations of it are deep and very laſting; it has ſtood many ages, and with good repairs may ſtand many more; but the architecture is loaded with a multiplicity of idle and uſeleſs parts: when you examine it critically, many faults and imperfections will appear; yet upon the whole it has a mighty awful air, and ſtrikes you with reverence. Then as to the adminiſtration of our laws, the difference between us and other countries is little more than this, that there they ſell juſtice *in the groſs*, and here we ſell it *by retail*. In Perſia the cadi paſſes ſentence for a round ſum of money: in England the judge indeed takes nothing; but the attorney, the advocate, every officer and retainer on the court, raiſe treble that ſum upon the client. The condition of juſtice is like that of many women of quality: they themſelves are above being bought; but every *ſervant* about them muſt be *feed*, or there is no *getting at them*. The diſintereſted ſpirit of the lady is of no advantage to the ſuitor; he is undone by the rapine of *her dependants*.

LET-

LETTER XXVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I TOLD thee, in my laſt letter, a converſation I had with my friend upon the practice of law in this country. What is peculiar to us, continued he, in judicial proceedings, is, that no *diſcretionary power* is lodged either in the judge or the jury; but they are to direct and determine altogether by the *letter of the law*. In France, and other parts of Europe, the judge is truſted with ſuch a power to vary from the law, in certain points, according to the dictates of his conſcience, and the reaſon of the caſe: but in England, conſcience, reaſon, right, and juſtice, are confined to the words of the law, and the eſtabliſhed meaning thereof. No doubt this is productive of many hardſhips: particulars muſt often ſuffer by it; yet, in the main, it is a wholſome reſtraint, and beneficial to liberty: for it is generally found, that in other countries, where they are not ſo ſtrictly tied down, the judge's conſcience is apt to depend too much on the king's, and the rule of equity is a very uncertain meaſure, which paſſion, prejudice, or intereſt, can eaſily change.

Theſe latter times have, indeed, a good deal departed from the ancient methods of judicature in matters of property, by encouraging applications to the *Chancery*; which is a court of equity, where he who preſides in it judges alone, without any jury, and with a much greater latitude than other courts: but whether more evil than good does not attend on this practice, may well be queſtioned. Thus much is certain, that cauſes are not *ſhortened* by it, though one might have expected *that advantage* from it at leaſt. I have been told, ſaid I, that whatever time they may take in paſſing through *that court*, they have often a further journey to make before they come to a final deciſion. It is true, replied he, they may be carried from thence by an appeal to the houſe of lords, who judge in the laſt reſort. And if the conſtitution had not lodged there a judicature ſuperior to that of the *chancellor*, ſo much of the property of the ſubject would entirely depend upon his opinion, that the parliament would have reaſon to put in again their claim to a right, which they demanded in the reign of Edward III, of *nominating this officer themſelves*.

When an appeal, ſaid I, is made to the lords, by what rules do *they* judge? If by no other than thoſe of natural equity, I can then underſtand, that every lord, who has common ſenſe, may be ſuppoſed to be ca-

pable of ſuch a judicature: but if they proceed by the rules of the courts below, and according to principles, uſages, and determinations eſtabliſhed *there*, that is *a ſcience* of which few are capable; and in that ſenſe they cannot be *judges born*. Two or three, at moſt, of their body would then have competent knowledge for the performing a duty, which the conſtitution of England expects from *all*. And when *ſo few* are to judge, their being too much *divided* in affection, or intereſt, at ſome junctures of time, at others their being too much *united*, might, I ſhould think, have very bad conſequences. But what if the chancellor himſelf ſhould ever be *the only lord in the houſe* enough poſſeſſed of *that knowledge* to lead the reſt? where would be then the uſe of appealing from his decrees?

To this my friend anſwered nothing: and I thought that his ſilence wanted no explanation.

LET-

LETTER XXVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

A FRENCH gentleman was boaſting the other day, in a company where I was, of the academies founded by the late king, for the ſupport and reward of arts and ſciences.

You have a pleaſant way, ſaid he, here in England, of encouraging a man of wit. When he is dead, you build him a fine tomb, and lay him among your kings; but while he is alive, he is as ill received at court, as if he came with a petition againſt the miniſtry. Would not the money you have laid out upon the monuments of two or three of your poets, have been better beſtowed in giving them bread when they were living, and wanted it? This might have been formerly the caſe, replied the Engliſhman; but it is not ſo now. A man of true genius is at preſent ſo much favoured by the publick, which is the beſt of all patrons, his works are ſo greedily bought up, and ſuch regard is ſhewn him every way, that he has no need to depend upon a court for protection, or for ſubſiſtence.

And let me add, that the honours which are paid to a deceaſed man of wit, have ſomething

thing in them more generous and diſintereſted, than penſions beſtowed on ſlaviſh terms, and at the price of continual panegyrick.

We have a *very great poet* now *alive*, who may boaſt of one glory to which no member of the French academy can pretend, *viz.* that he never flattered any man *in power*, but has beſtowed immortal praiſes upon *thoſe*, whom, for fear of offending men *in power*, if they had lived in France, under the ſame circumſtances, no poet there would have dared to praiſe.

LET-

LETTER XXIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is a *Chriſtian* doctor, who, at my firſt arrival here, took the trouble to viſit me very often, with no other view, as I could find, but merely to make a *Chriſtian* of me; in which deſign he has been ſingle hitherto, ſuch a zeal being very much out of faſhion.

But, what is moſt extraordinary, I was told the other day, that his *preferment in the church* had been lately *ſtopped*, at the inſtance of the *mufti of this city*, on a ſuppoſition of his being turned *Mahometan*, and that all the proof brought againſt him was the commerce he formerly had with me.

When I heard this, I waited on the *mufti*, and offered to teſtify that the doctor was a Chriſtian, as far as I could judge by all I ſaw of him, during the time of our acquaintance: but he refuſed to admit my teſtimony in this caſe, becauſe, as he ſaid, I was myſelf *a miſbeliever*; and inſiſted on the doctor's ſuppoſed *apoſtacy*, as an undoubted fact, which *ſhocked* him beyound meaſure.

If he is a *muſulman*, ſaid I, he muſt be *circumciſed*. There is a *viſible mark* of orthodoxy in our religion; but I ſhould be glad to

to know what is the *visible mark* of yours. If it be *meekness*, or *charity*, or *justice*, or *temperance*, or *piety*, all these are most *conspicuous*, in the *doctor*: but I find that none of these can *prove* him to be a *Christian*.——*What* therefore is the *characteristick* of his *accusers*? and *how* do they *prove* themselves to be *Christians* * ?

* It is supposed this letter alludes to the objections made to the promotion of the late doctor Rundle. [Dr. Thomas Rundle, prebendary of Durham, and archdeacon of Wilts, being recommended to the king, by lord chancellor Talbot, to whom he was chaplain, for the bishoprick of Glocester (on the death of Bp. Sydall), his appointment was strenuously opposed by Bp. Gibson, from a notion of the doctor's being a Deist. In consequence of this opposition, the lord chancellor was at length induced to withdraw his recommendation; Dr. Benson was promoted to the English bishoprick; and Dr. Rundle to the bishoprick of Derry in Ireland. He died April 14, 1743.]

LET-

LETTER XXX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE principles and practice of toleration prevail very ſtrongly in this country: I myſelf have felt the effects of it very much to my advantage. The better ſort of people are no more offended at the difference of my faith from theirs, than at the difference of my dreſs. The mob, indeed, ſeem ſurprized at me for both, and cannot comprehend how it is poſſible to make ſuch miſtakes; but they rather contemn than hate me for them: and I have yet been affronted by nobody but a drunken prieſt, who denounced damnation againſt me, for refuſing to pledge him, *To the proſperity of the Church of England*, in a liquor forbidden by our law.

This has not always been the temper of the Engliſh. They have formerly waged war againſt Mahometans, only becauſe they were ſo: they have kindled fires againſt hereticks, though what was hereſy in one age has been orthodoxy in another: nay, they have involved their country in all the miſeries of civil diſcord, upon points of no greater moment, than whether a table ought to be placed in the middle of the church, or at one end of it.

I muſt own to thee, Mirza, there is nothing I abhor ſo much as perſecution: it ſeems to me

me no leſs ridiculous in its principles, than dreadful in its effects. One would think, that the great diverſity of opinions among mankind ſhould incline men a little to ſuſpect that their own may poſſibly be wrong, eſpecially in diſputes not very eſſential; but to purſue all others with rage and violence, inſtead of pity or perſuaſion, is ſuch a ſtrain of pride and folly as can ſcarce be accounted for from enthuſiaſm itſelf. I have read in a Spaniſh author of a certain madman, who rambled about Spain with ſword and lance; and whomſoever he met with in his way, he required to acknowledge and believe, that his miſtreſs Dulcinea del Toboſo was the handſomeſt woman in the world. It was in vain for the other to reply, that he had no knowledge at all of Dulcinea, or had a particular fancy to another woman. The madman made no allowances for ignorance or prejudice; but inſtantly knocked him down, and never left beating him till he promiſed to maintain the perfections of the ſaid lady above all her rivals. Such has been the conduct of many prieſts and prieſt-rid princes in propagating their *ſpiritual inclinations*: each had his ſeveral Dulcinea, and reſolved that every body ſhould admire her as much as himſelf; but, as this was not eaſily brought about, the controverſy was determined by force of arms. Nay, though it happened that all admired the ſame, they would even quarrel about the faſhion of her cloaths: and moſt bloody battles have been

been fought, to decide which colour became her beſt. Alas! Mirza, how abſurd is all this! The beauty of true religion is ſufficiently ſhewn by its proper luſtre; it needs no knight-errant to combat for it; nor is any thing ſo contrary to the nature of affection as conſtraint. Whoever is compelled to profeſs a faith without conviction, though it was but indifferent to him before, muſt grow to think it odious: as men, who are forced to marry where they do not approve, ſoon change diſlike into averſion.—I will end this ſubject with putting thee in mind of a ceremony which is celebrated once a year by the common people of Perſia, in honour of our prophet Ali. There are two bulls brought forth before the crowd, the ſtrongeſt of which is called Ali, and the weaker Omar. They are made to fight; and as Ali is very ſure to get the better, the ſpectators go away highly ſatisfied with this happy deciſion of the diſpute between us and the heretical *Turks*.

Juſt in this light I regard all religious wars. Whether the combatants are two bulls or two biſhops, the caſe is exactly the ſame, and the determination juſt as abſurd.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

THERE is nothing more aſtoniſhing to a Muſulman than many particulars relating to the ſtate of matrimony, as it is managed in Europe: our practice of it is ſo totally different, that we can hardly think it poſſible for men to do or ſuffer ſuch things as happen here every day.

The following ſtory, which was given me for a true one, will ſet this in a very full light: I wiſh thou mayſt find it as entertaining, as I am ſure thou wilt find it new.

In the reign of Charles the Firſt, king of England, lived two gentlemen, whoſe true names I will conceal under the feigned ones of Acaſto and Septimius. They were neighbours, their eſtates lay together; and they had a friendſhip for each other, which had grown up from their earlieſt youth.

Acaſto had an only ſon, whom we will call Polydore, and Septimius an only daughter, named Emilia. Though the boy was but fourteen years old, and the girl but twelve, the parents were ſo deſirous of contracting an alliance between their families, and of uniting the two bordering eſtates, that they married them before either was of age to conſummate

the marriage, or even to underſtand the nature of their contract. As ſoon as the ceremony was performed, they ſent the young gentleman abroad, to finiſh his education.

After four years which he had ſpent in France and Italy, he was recalled by the news of his father's death, which made it neceſſary for him to return to England.

Emilia, who was now about ſixteen, began to think he had been abſent long enough, and received him with a great deal of ſatisfaction. She had heard a fine character of him, from thoſe who knew him in his travels: and when ſhe ſaw him, his perſon was ſo improved, that ſhe thought herſelf the happieſt of women in being his wife.

But his ſentiments for her were very different.

There was in his temper a ſpirit of contradiction, which could not bear to have a wife impoſed upon him.—He complained, that his father had taken advantage of his tender age, to draw him into an engagement, in which his judgement could poſſibly have no part. He confeſſed that he had no objections to the perſon or character of Emilia: but inſiſted on a liberty of choice; and declared, that he looked upon his marriage to be forced and null. In ſhort, he abſolutely refuſed to conſummate, in ſpite of all the endeavours of their friends, and the conjugal affection of the poor young lady, who did her utmoſt to vanquiſh his averſion.—When ſhe found that

all

all her kindneſs was thrown away, the natural pride of her ſex made her deſire to be ſeparated from him, and ſhe joined with him in a petition for a divorce. The firſt parliament of the year *forty* was then ſitting: the affair was brought before them, and it was believed that a divorce would have eaſily been obtained at their mutual demand. But the biſhops oppoſed it with great violence, as a breach of the law of God, which they ſaid would admit of no divorce, but in caſes of adultery. They were anſwered, that the marriage was not *compleat*; and that the ceremonious part, which was all that had paſſed between them, might as properly be diſpenſed with by the legiſlature, as any other form of law: that the young gentleman's averſion was *invincible*, and inconſiſtent with the obligation laid upon him: that therefore it would not well become the fathers of the church, to put him under a manifeſt temptation of committing adultery: and that nothing could be imagined more unjuſt, than to condemn the lady to perpetual virginity, under the notion of a marriage, which, it was plain, was a mere illuſion.—Theſe arguments ſeemed convincing to all the world, except the biſhops; but they perſiſted in their *uſual unanimity*, and were ſo powerful, by the *favour* of the *court*, that they carried their point in the houſe of lords: and the unfortunate Polydore and Emilia were declared to be *one fleſh*, though no union had ever been between them, either

in body or in mind.—The husband immediately paid back his wife's portion to her father; and firmly resolved, that from that time forwards he would never see her more. His natural obstinacy was irritated by the constraint that was put upon him; and he took a pride to shew the world, that there was no power, ecclesiastical or civil, which could oblige him to act like a married man against his inclination. The poor lady retired to a seat of her father's in the country, and endeavoured, by long absence from her husband, to forget that he had ever pleased or offended her.—Two years afterwards the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. Polydore was so enraged against the bishops for obstructing his divorce, that it determined him in the choosing of his party, and made him take up arms against the king. Septimius, the father of Emilia, was as zealous a royalist, to which his hatred of Polydore contributed as much as any thing; for it was hardly possible that two such bitter enemies should be of the same side. In the course of the war, the king being worsted, the estates of many of his party were confiscated; and Septimius, having been one of the most active, was also one of those that suffered most. He was compelled to retire into France with what he could save out of the wreck of his estate; and carried with him his daughter, who was quite abandoned by her husband and his family.

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In the mean while, the army of the parliament began to form itſelf into different factions. Cromwell, at the head of the Independents, acquired by degrees ſuch an influence, that the Preſbyterians were no longer a match for him: Polydore, who was devoted to that ſect, threw up his commiſſion in diſcontent; and, happily for his reputation, had no ſhare in thoſe violent proceedings, which ended in the deſtruction of the king and the ancient conſtitution.

He continued quite unactive for ſome years; but at laſt, growing weary of a life that agreed ſo ill with his vivacity, he determined to go and ſerve in the Low Countries under the great prince of Condé, who, in the year 1654, commanded the armies of Spain againſt his country.—Two reaſons inclined Polydore to this party; firſt, the deſire he had to learn his trade under a general of ſo great reputation: and, ſecondly, becauſe Cromwell had refuſed to enter into an alliance with that prince, though moſt agreeable to the intereſts of England.—He found his highneſs employed in beſieging Arras, and was received by him with high marks of eſteem. During the ſiege, he often ſignalized his courage, and ſupported the opinion that was ſpread all over Europe of the valour of the parliament-officers: but the marſhal Turenne, with La Ferté and Hoquincourt, having attacked the beſiegers in their lines, relieved Arras, and would have deſtroyed the Spaniſh army, if the prince of

Condé had not ſaved it by a retreat, which was one of the greateſt actions of his life. In this battle Polydore was taken priſoner, and ſent to Paris with many other Spaniſh officers, to continue there till they ſhould be ranſomed or exchanged. In the journey he contracted a great intimacy with the count d'Aguilar, brigadier under the count de Fuenſaldagna, and one of the firſt gentlemen in Spain. As they travelled together ſeveral days, they very naturally acquainted one another with the principal incidents of their lives. Polydore related to Aguilar the whole ſtory of his marriage with Emilia; and declaimed with great heat againſt the folly of tying two people thus together, who wiſhed nothing ſo much as to be looſe.

No doubt, ſaid the count, it is moſt abſurd; but, to ſay the truth, I find nothing very reaſonable in the whole affair of marriage as we have made it. I do not know what it may be to other men: but to me it ſeems horribly unnatural to be confined to any ſingle woman, let her be ever ſo agreeable.

If I had *choſen* a woman *freely*, anſwered Polydore, I could be always conſtant to her with pleaſure; but to have a companion *for life forced* upon me, I had rather row in the gallies than ſubmit to it.

You are miſtaken, my dear Polydore, replied the count, in fancying it ſo eaſy to be conſtant even to a wife of one's own chuſing. I have had ſome experience of that kind, and

know that the firſt choice is only good till we have made a ſecond.

To prove this to you, I need only give you the hiſtory of my amours——That you may not think I am telling you a romance, I will begin where romances always end, with the article of my marriage. I was married at four and twenty to a lady, whom I choſe for her beauty and good ſenſe, without troubling myſelf about her fortune, which was but ſmall. The three or four firſt years that we lived together was the happieſt period of my life: I preſerved all the ardour of a lover, with the freedom and tenderneſs of a huſband. She loved me ſtill more fondly than I did her; and if I had not left her till ſhe gave me occaſion, I believe I ſhould have been conſtant to this day.—But I was not able to hold out any longer. All her charms were become ſo familiar to me, that they could not make the leaſt impreſſion: and I went regularly to her bed, as I did to ſupper, with an appetite quite palled by too much plenty. In this dull way I drudged on for a tedious twelvemonth, till the ſight of a relation of my wife's, who came opportunely to lodge in my own houſe, rouzed me out of my lethargy. She was a beautiful creature of eighteen, juſt taken out of a convent to be married. She knew nothing of the world, but had a natural quickneſs that went further than experience. However, as there was ſomething a little aukward in her exterior carriage, the counteſs d'Aguilar

thought it proper to keep her with her for ſome time before her marriage, till ſhe had inſtructed her how to behave herſelf *in publick*. I thought my inſtructions might be of uſe to her as well as my wife's, to teach her how to behave herſelf *in private*, and had the good fortune to make them more agreeable.

She liked me better and better every leſſon; and in proportion as her paſſion increaſed for me, ſhe conceived a ſtronger averſion for the man who was deſigned to be her huſband: and indeed ſhe had no great reaſon to be fond of him, for he was a peeviſh, ſtupid, bigoted old fellow, who did nothing day or night but pray and ſcold. Her friends preſſed the concluſion of her marriage; and, as unwilling as ſhe was to come into it, ſhe could not reſiſt their importunities. Yet, to comfort me, ſhe very fairly let me know, that ſhe would give her virginity to me in ſpite of all their teeth; and moreover, that I ſhould have it on the *wedding night*. I repreſented to her the improbability of her performing *ſuch* a promiſe at *ſuch* a time; but ſhe bid me truſt to her management, and I ſhould be ſatisfied.

The wedding night came; and when the company was retired, the bridegroom was ſurprized to ſee the bride diſſolved in tears. He begged to know the cauſe of her affliction; but ſhe would not tell him, except he ſwore, that, when he knew it, he would do his utmoſt to remove it.

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The poor man, in the vehemence of his love, assured her that he would do any thing to make her easy, that was not contrary to the *honour of a cavalier*, or the *injunctions of our holy mother church.*

No, said she, the thing I require of you will recommend you extremely to the *church*, as it is only to give me leave to accomplish a vow I made to the Blessed Virgin, in a fit of sickness, when my life was in great danger.

Heaven forbid, my pretty child, replied the don, that I should hinder you from performing a sacred vow, to the hazard of your soul!

Well then, said she, I will own to you, that in my fright I vowed, that, if I could but get well again, and live to be married, I would consecrate my wedding night to the Blessed Virgin, by passing it in the bed of my waiting-woman, the virtuous Isabella. And this very morning while I slept, our Lady appeared to me in a dream, and threatened me with another fit of sickness if I did not keep my word.

If it be so, replied the husband, there is no doubt but *the Virgin* must be *served* before *me*; and so, my dear, I wish you a good night.

Now you must know that the virtuous Isabella was trusted with all the secrets of her mistress, and had gone between us through the whole course of our amour.

Accordingly madam went to bed to her waiting-woman, who had taken care to inform me of this design, and concealed me in a closet

a cloſet within her chamber; from whence, as ſoon as every body was aſleep, I was admitted to the place of Iſabella, and received the full acquittance of a promiſe I little expected to ſee performed.

The ſingularity of this adventure ſo delighted me, that I could not help, in the vanity of my heart, diſcovering it to the duke de l'Infantada, the moſt intimate of my friends. He was very thankful for the confidence I repoſed in him; and, to reward me for it, betrayed it inſtantly to my wife, whom, it ſeems, he had long made love to without ſucceſs. As he thought that the greateſt obſtacle to his deſires was her fondneſs for me, he hoped to remove it by convincing her of my falſeneſs; but though the news of it had like to have broke her heart, it was not able to change it.

She reproached me in a manner that made my fault appear much more inexcuſable. I might complain, ſaid ſhe, of the affront you have done my honour in debauching my relation; but, alas! I am only ſenſible to the injury you have done my love. You are grown weary of me; and I know it is impoſſible to regain your heart, ſince the ſingle reaſon of your diſlike muſt ſtill continue, which is, That I am your wife. If any part of my behaviour had offended you, I might have changed it to your ſatisfaction; but this is a fault, which, in ſpite of all my care, will grow worſe every day.—I endeavoured to pacify her by aſſurances of my future fidelity; and really I was ſo affected

affected by her behaviour, that I ſeriouſly meant to keep my word.—But our inclinations are very little in our power: my reſolution ſoon yielded to the charms of the counteſs Altamira, one of the handſomeſt women about the court, but the vaineſt, the moſt intereſted, and the moſt abandoned. She made it a point of honour to ſeduce me, out of a deſire to mortify my wife, with whom ſhe had quarrelled upon ſome female competition of precedency or dreſs.

Her avarice was equal to her pride; and ſhe made me pay dearly for her favours, though her huſband was one of the richeſt men in Spain. I hardly ever went to her without a preſent of ſome kind or other, and my fortune began to ſuffer by my expence; yet I was ſo bewitched to her, that, though I heartily deſpiſed her, I could not help loving her to madneſs.

One day, when I came to ſee her after an abſence that had raiſed my deſires to the higheſt pitch, ſhe received me with a ſullenneſs and ill-humour that tortured me beyond expreſſion. I conjured her to acquaint me with the cauſe of it; and ſhe told me, "That "the laſt time ſhe was at court, ſhe had ſeen "the counteſs d'Aguilar with a diamond neck-"lace on, which I had given her the day "before: that my making ſuch preſents to "another woman, in the midſt of our intrigue, "was an inſult ſhe was determined not to "bear; and that, ſince I was grown ſo fond a "huſband,

"husband, she could not but make a conscience "of disturbing our conjugal felicity."

I offered her any satisfaction she would ask: and the malicious devil had the impudence to tell me, that nothing could satisfy her, but my taking away that necklace from my wife, and giving it her.—I entreated her to accept of another, of twice its value; but she replied, that her honour was concerned, and, in short, she would have that, and that alone.—Overcome with her importunities, I went home, and stole it for her; but made her promise me solemnly to be very cautious that my wife should never see it in her possession.

About three days after, word was brought me, that the countess d'Aguilar had fainted away in the anti-chamber of the queen, and was gone home in great disorder to her mother's the countess of Pacheco.

I went immediately thither in such a fright, as convinced me I loved her better than I thought I did: but imagine my confusion, when she informed me, that she had fainted at the sight of her own diamonds on the neck of the countess Altamira. She added, that it was no mystery to her, nor to any body else, how that lady came by them; and that, to save herself the mortification of any more such publick affronts, she would no longer live with me as my wife, but leave me at full liberty to please myself, as my licentious inclination should direct.

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I uſed my utmoſt eloquence to prevail on her to come home to me again; but ſhe remained inflexible, and ſaid no more to all my proteſtations, but, that if her paſt conduct had not been able to fix my heart, ſhe deſpaired of doing it for the future.

After living without her half a year, I was ordered to my regiment in Flanders, and was very glad of an occaſion to leave Madrid, where the regret of her ſeparation was ſuch a pain to me, that it entirely ſunk my ſpirits. Since my arrival in the army, I have writ to her three or four letters, but ſhe diſdained to make me any anſwer; and I have reaſon to believe that her high ſpirit has, by this time, got the better of her love.

For my part, I endeavour to amuſe myſelf the beſt I can with other women; and I deſire, my dear Polydore, that we may be always reciprocal confidants of every intrigue that we engage in during our ſtay in France.

Polydore thanked him, and aſſured him, that on his part he ſhould meet with no reſerve. When they came to Paris, his firſt care was to enquire what was become of Septimius and Emilia, whom he had heard no account of for many years. He was informed, that Septimius was dead, and his daughter gone from Paris. His curioſity made him write to his friends in England, to aſk if ſhe was there. They anſwered him, that every body believed ſhe was dead in France, having received no news of her a great while. Polydore

dore was mightily pleaſed with this account, and fancied himſelf very happy in being a widower, though he had given himſelf no trouble to ſupport the character of a huſband.—The two friends had not reſided long at Paris, before they were exchanged for ſome French officers who were taken priſoners by the prince of Condé. They returned to the army; but the ſeaſon not permitting them to come to any action, they agreed to paſs the winter at Bruſſels, in the court of the archduke. They had not been there above a month, before Aguilar acquainted his Engliſh friend, that he had begun an intrigue with a French lady, who lived in a very retired manner, which he believed was owing to her circumſtances: that he had ſeen her two or three times, by means of a woman at whoſe houſe ſhe lodged, whoſe good offices he had ſecured by a handſome bribe. He added, that he would carry Polydore to ſee her the next viſit that he made. Accordingly they went together to Mademoiſelle Dalincourt (for that was the name of Aguilar's new miſtreſs). At their coming in, Dalincourt ſeemed much ſurprized, changed colour, and was not able to ſpeak a word. The count, alarmed at her diſorder, ſuſpected ſome lover had been with her; and told her, with an air of diſcontent, that he was ſorry he came at ſo wrong a time. She endeavoured to ſhake off her confuſion, and replied, that he was always very welcome: but that the gentleman he brought with him had ſo much reſem-

reſemblance of a brother of hers who was killed in Flanders; that, at firſt ſight, ſhe could not help being ſtruck with it in the manner they had ſeen: ſhe added, that if the gentleman was as like her brother in mind, as he was in form, ſhe ſhould be mightily pleaſed with his acquaintance. She ſpoke this with ſuch an air of ſincerity, that the count began to think his jealouſy was without foundation.

After ſome general diſcourſe, ſhe applied to Polydore, and aſked him how long he had been engaged in the Spaniſh ſervice; with many other more particular enquiries, which ſeemed to intimate a deſire to know him better. Polydore was very glad of it, in hopes to ſerve his friend: and the count, who had no ſuſpicions on that ſide, did his utmoſt to engage them in a friendſhip which he imagined would turn to his advantage.

At night, when the two gentlemen went home together, Aguilar aſked his companion, what he thought of Dalincourt's perſon and underſtanding? Better of the laſt than the firſt, anſwered he, though both are certainly agreeable. I cannot help thinking, continued he, that her perſonis not quite new to me; but I cannot recollect where I met with her, except it was at Paris, when I was there a boy.—You will do well to improve your acquaintance now, replied the count; and, to give you an opportunity of doing it, I will ſend you there to-morrow, to make my excuſes for being obliged to hunt with the archduke, inſtead of

waiting

waiting upon her as I intended. I know, my dear Polydore will employ all his wit and eloquence to ſet his friend's paſſion in the beſt light; and while he is with her, I ſhall have leſs uneaſineſs in being away. Polydore promiſed him all the ſervices he could do him; but ſaid he wiſhed he had got a miſtreſs too, to make the party even.

The next day he went to her, and ſaid a great deal in praiſe of Aguilar, to diſcover what ſhe thought of him. She anſwered him with terms of a cold eſteem, but nothing that gave him the leaſt encouragement to believe ſhe was in love. He then endeavoured to perſuade her of the violence of the count's paſſion for her; but ſhe aſſured him, that this was the only ſubject ſhe did not care to hear him talk of.—He returned to his friend quite diſcouraged at her manner of proceeding; and told him, there was nothing to be hoped for. The count ſhewed him a letter he had juſt received from his confidant, the lady of the houſe; which adviſed him, not to think of gaining Dalincourt by a timorous reſpect; but to offer her at once a handſome ſettlement, which the ſtreightneſs of her fortune would make her liſten to much more kindly than ſhe did to his fine ſpeeches.

This indeed may do ſomething, ſaid Polydore: for I found by her diſcourſe, that ſhe had been reduced, by a ſeries of misfortunes, to a condition very much beneath her birth.—In concluſion, they agreed to make a trial whether ſhe was to be bought or not; and

Polydore was made the bearer of a letter which contained a very liberal propoſal. She read it, looked at Polydore ſome time without ſaying a word, and at laſt burſt out in a flood of tears.

I thought, ſaid ſhe, recovering her voice, that it had not been in the power of my ill deſtiny to make me more unhappy; but I now find, that my misfortunes have ſunk me lower than ever I was aware of, ſince two gentlemen, whoſe eſteem I wiſhed to gain, think ſo meanly of me, as to imagine me a proper perſon to receive *ſuch a letter*. But know, Sir, that I am as much a ſtranger to infamy, as I am to happineſs; and have a ſpirit ſuperior to all the wrongs that your inſolent ſex can put upon me. Had not you diſgraced yourſelf by the ſcandalous employment of endeavouring to ſeduce me with a dirty bribe, I ſhould have been happy in ſeeing you often here; but muſt now deſire you to trouble me no more, and to tell your friend, as my anſwer to his letter, that I would ſooner *give* myſelf to a footman, than *ſell* myſelf to a prince.

Polydore was infinitely ſtruck with this reception. Every word ſhe uttered pierced him to the heart; and he looked upon her as a miracle of virtue, ſuch as he never had had any notion of before.—He returned to the count in great confuſion, and acquainted him with the ill ſucceſs of his commiſſion. Aguilar, more in love with her than ever,

writ a moſt ſubmiſſive letter, to beg her pardon; but ſhe inſtantly ſent it back unopened. When he found all his courtſhip was ineffectual, he left Bruſſels in deſpair, and retired to a villa of one of his friends, where he reſolved to ſtay till the opening of the campaign. In the mean while Polydore, who continued ſtill at Bruſſels, was in a ſituation little eaſier than his friend. Mademoiſelle Dalincourt took up all his thoughts: he repeated to himſelf a thouſand times the laſt words he heard her ſpeak, and admired the ſpirit that appeared in them to a degree of adoration.

Not being able to bear her abſence any longer, he ſent to beg that he might ſee her once again, upon a buſineſs wholly relating to himſelf. She admitted him, and began the converſation by ſtrictly forbidding him to name the count in any thing he had to ſay to her.—I have no inclination to name him, replied he; for I would willingly forget that I ever knew him. I am ſenſible that I wrong him, in declaring to you, that I love you more than life: yet, as his paſſion is quite deſtitute of hope, why ſhould not I ſolicit you for a heart to which he has no pretenſions? But, be my conduct right or not, in regard to him; to you, madam, it ſhall ever be moſt honourable. I come to offer you my whole fortune, upon ſuch terms as your virtue need not bluſh at. I am a widower, and free to marry whom I pleaſe: my

my eſtate is ſufficient for us both; and I am happy to think it in my power to raiſe you to that rank which you were born to. This, madam, is the only reparation by which I can atone for the affront I did your character: and, if you refuſe to accept of it, my deſpair will be equal to my love.

The lady anſwered him, with bluſhes, that ſhe was highly ſenſible of the ſentiments he expreſſed for her; that ſhe liked his perſon, and admired his underſtanding; but that, to her misfortune, ſhe was married already, and therefore could ſay nothing to his propoſal.—Good heaven, cried Polydore, you are married! and who then is your huſband? The moſt unworthy of mankind, anſwered ſhe: one, who has abandoned me to the malice of my fortune, and does not know at this this time what is become of me, nor trouble himſelf about it.—He is, indeed, unworthy, replied the lover, who is poſſeſſed of ſuch a treaſure, and can neglect it. But, madam, employ me in your revenge: command my ſword to pierce the monſter's heart, and tear it from his boſom.—No, ſaid ſhe, your ſafety is more dear to me than the deſire of revenge. All I aſk of you is, to ſwear that you never will be like that huſband; but continue to love me equally, when you know me better: upon this condition, I will grant you all the favours which my duty will allow; and, perhaps, your future conduct

may prevail upon me to throw of all reſtraint.

The happy Polydore ſwore every thing ſhe deſired, and ſhe permitted him to ſee her when he pleaſed; but, being informed by him of the treachery of her friend at whoſe houſe ſhe lodged, they agreed to make their appointments at another place.

They continued this commerce for ſome time without any interruption, till the court d'Aguilar had notice of it from his confidant, who perceived it in ſpite of all their caution.

Never was rage equal to his at this diſcovery. He writ to Polydore, reproaching him with his breach of friendſhip in the bittereſt terms, and required him to meet him with his ſword behind the walls of a nunnery that was ſituated about two leagues out of Bruſſels. Polydore accepted of the challenge, and met him at the place appointed: he attempted to juſtify himſelf, but the count had not the patience to hear him out. They fought with great fury a good while, till the fortune of Polydore prevailed, and the count fainted away with the loſs of blood from two or three wounds which he had received. The other, ſeeing him fall, thought him dead, and made off with the utmoſt precipitation. Juſt at that inſtant came by a coach and ſix, which was driving towards the nunnery: a lady who was in it, ſeeing a gentleman lie weltering in his blood, ſtopped her coach, and went to try if ſhe

could aſſiſt him. At the ſight of the face, ſhe fetched a ſcream, and fell upon the body in a ſwoon. Her ſervants, concluding it to be ſome one ſhe was much concerned for, carried them both into the nunnery; where the lady ſoon came to herſelf, and the count alſo began to ſhew ſigns of life, his ſpirits being agitated by the motion. He was immediately put to bed, and a ſurgeon ſent for, who declared his wounds to be dangerous, but not mortal. While they continued uncertain of his cure, the lady who brought him into the nunnery waited conſtantly, day and night, at his bedſide, and nurſed him with a care that would not yield to a moment of repoſe. As her face was always covered with a veil, he took her to be one of the nuns, and was aſtoniſhed at a charity ſo officious. When he grew better, his curioſity encreaſed, and he ardently preſſed her to let him know to whom he owed ſuch great obligations. Are you a nun, madam? ſaid he: I hope you are not; for it would afflict me infinitely, if I was never to ſee you more, after leaving a houſe where you have done me ſo many favours.—The lady for whom you fought, anſwered ſhe, will make you ſoon forget the loſs of me; and though I am not a nun, you will never ſee me out of the limits of theſe walls.

How, madam! ſaid he, was you not *out* of them, when you found me on the ground, and ſaved my life?

Yes, replied ſhe; I was returning from a viſit to a convent in the town: but I will take care not to ſtir from hence while you are at Bruſſels, becauſe you are the man in the world I would avoid.

This ſpeech ſo ſurprized him, that for ſome time he was not able to make her any anſwer. At laſt, he told her, that her actions and her words entirely diſagreed; and that he could not think himſelf ſo hateful to her as ſhe ſaid, when he reflected how kindly ſhe had uſed him.

Theſe riddles ſhall be cleared to you, anſwered ſhe, when you are perfectly recovered: till then, content yourſelf with knowing, that I cannot hate you, but am as much determined to avoid you as if I could.

Thus ended a converſation which left the count in a perplexity not to be deſcribed.

He ſaw her no more for a few days; but when ſhe heard that his ſtrength was quite returned, ſhe came to him one morning, and ſpoke thus:

"If you will know who ſhe is that was "ſo afflicted when your life was in danger; "that nurſed you ſo carefully in your ill-"neſs; and is reſolved to quit you for ever "when you are well; think of your former "gallantries at Madrid, of your preſent "paſſion for a miſtreſs that deſpiſes you, and "your ingratitude to a wife that always "loved you: think of all this, and you will "not wonder any longer at my actions or

"my

" my words.—Yes, Aguilar, I am that " wife, whoſe fate it is to be acquainted " with all your infidelities, and to ſmart for " all your follies."

As ſhe ſaid this, ſhe lifted up her veil, and ſhewed the aſtoniſhed count a well-known face, which he little expected to have ſeen in Flanders. All the paſſions that can agitate the heart of man, ſhame, remorſe, love, gratitude, invaded his in that moment. He threw himſelf at her feet, and with many tears implored her to forgive him.

She raiſed him, and aſſured him of her pardon, nay, more, of her affection: " But " my perſon," ſaid ſhe, " I am determined " ſhall be ever ſeparated from you. I have " had too many proofs of your inconſtancy, " to hope that any obligations can engage " you: you will never be faithful to me " alone, and I diſdain to ſhare you with " another. It is happineſs enough for me, " that I have been the inſtrument of pre- " ſerving your life, though you riſqued it " for the ſake of another woman; and all " the return I aſk of you is, to think of me " ſometimes with kindneſs, but never to at- " tempt to ſee me more."

Aguilar was on the rack to hear her talk in ſo reſolute a ſtyle; but he flattered himſelf it was owing to her jealouſy of mademoiſelle Dalincourt. Being impatient to make her eaſy on that head, he diſpatched one of his ſervants with a letter, to acquaint that lady

with his recovery. He begged her earneſtly to come to him at the *nunnery*, and, if poſſible, to bring her lover with her. Polydore had abſconded a few days, till he heard that the count was out of danger; after which he continued very publickly his addreſſes to Dalincourt.

While the meſſenger was bringing them to the *nunnery*, Aguilar demanded of his wife, by what accident ſhe came into Flanders?

You know, ſaid ſhe, that, after my diſcovery of your amour with the counteſs Altamira, I retired to my mother's houſe, and remained there till your departure for the army.

Soon afterwards, I had the misfortune to loſe my mother; and what particularly aggravated my grief was, the knowledge that her concern at your ill uſage of me had haſtened her death.

Theſe afflictions made Madrid ſo uneaſy to me, that I could not bear to ſtay in it any longer. Luckily about that time I received a letter from my couſin Eugenia donna de Montalegre, a religious of this houſe, to inform me of her being elected abbeſs. It inſtantly occurred to me, that no place could be more proper for my retreat than a monaſtery, of which ſhe was the head: ſo, as ſoon as I could ſettle my affairs, I left Spain, and put myſelf into a penſion under the government of

of donna Eugenia; in which manner I have lived ever ſince.

She had ſcarce finiſhed this account, when they were interrupted by the arrival of Polydore and Dalincourt. Madam d'Aguilar changed colour at the ſight of her; but her huſband, embracing Polydore, aſſured him, that he no longer looked upon him as a rival, but was glad to reſign his miſtreſs to a friend who ſo well deſerved her. Then he related to him the manner in which his wife had tended and preſerved him; and expreſſed ſo much gratitude, ſo much love, that, if any thing could have ſhaken her reſolution, this would certainly have done it. Mademoiſelle Dalincourt ſeemed much affected at this relation, and told the counteſs, ſhe was infinitely concerned that ſhe had been the innocent cauſe of her huſband's danger; but that ſhe hoped this accident would be a means of making them happy for the future, and put an end to his infidelities and her reſentment.

My happineſs too, added ſhe, is now at ſtake; and I have need of your friendſhip, to ſupport me in a diſcovery which I tremble to begin, but which, in juſtice to my honour, I am obliged to delay no longer.

At theſe words ſhe kneeled down; and taking hold of Polydore's hand, "Behold," ſaid ſhe, "my dear huſband, in that Dalin-"court whom you have ſworn to love eter-"nally, behold your wife Emilia, that

"Emilia

" Emilia whom you left a bride and a virgin " at ſixteen; whom you imagined dead; and " who will not live a moment, if you refuſe " to acknowledge and receive her.

" You cannot now complain, that I am a " wife impoſed upon you: you choſe me " freely out of pure inclination; our parents " had nothing to do in it; love only engaged " us, and from love alone I deſire to poſſeſs " you. This is my claim; and if you are " willing to allow it, I am bleſſed to the " height of all my wiſhes."

Polydore gazed on her with a ſilent admiration. He examined every feature over and over; then, throwing his arms round her neck, and almoſt ſtifling her with kiſſes, " Are " you really Emilia? (cried he,) and have I " confirmed my former marriage by a *new* " *choice*, by a *choice* which I never will de- " part from, and which makes me the hap- " pieſt of men? O my angel, what wonders " do you tell me! how is it poſſible that I find " you here at Bruſſels, when I thought you " in your grave? Explain all this to me, and " let me know how much I wronged you " formerly, that I may try to repair it all by " my future conduct."

Count d'Aguilar and his lady joining with him in a deſire to know her hiſtory, ſhe related it as follows;

The HISTORY *of* POLYDORE *and* EMILIA.

"You may remember, Polydore, that, as ſoon as we were parted, I went to live in the country with my father, being aſhamed to appear in publick after the affront your capricious averſion had put upon me.

My pride was deeply wounded; but, with ſhame I own it, my love was the paſſion that ſuffered moſt. I was bred up to conſider you as my huſband; I had learned to love you from a child; and your perſon was ſo wonderfully agreeable, that I could not look upon you with indifference: nay, ſuch was my partiality in your favour, that I could not help admiring you for your ſpirit in aſſerting the freedom of your choice, and juſtified you in my heart for a proceeding which openly I was obliged to diſapprove. In this wretched ſtate of mind I remained ſome years, till the unfortunate event of the civil war deprived my father of his eſtate, and drove him out to ſeek refuge in a foreign country. We ſettled at Paris, where, with three or four thouſand pounds, which we found means to carry off, part in money, and the reſt of it in jewels, we maintained ourſelves well enough in a private way, which pleaſed my melancholy better than any other. In this retreat, where we ſaw no company but two or three French women that lodged in the houſe with us, I amuſed myſelf with learning the French tongue, which I had ſome knowledge of before I came to France;

and by ſpeaking nothing elſe for three or four years, I became ſo very perfect in it, that it was difficult to diſcover by my accent that I was not born at Paris. I mention this, becauſe it has ſince been of uſe to me, in making me paſs more eaſily upon you for the French woman I perſonated.—The third year of our reſidence at Paris, my father became acquainted with a widow lady, the true madam Dalincourt, whoſe name has ſince made me full amends for many injuries I have to charge her with in the ſequel of my ſtory. This woman was a native of Brabant, but married a French gentleman, who dying young left her in very narrow circumſtances. She had a ſiſter much younger than herſelf, but not ſo handſome, who had lived with her at Paris.

My father was at that time near threeſcore, and the widow turned of forty; yet her charms were ſtill powerful enough to engage him in a paſſion for her, which nothing but dotage could excuſe. It went ſo far, that ſhe drew him in to marry her, and to ſettle upon her three thouſand pounds, leaving me no more than the worth of my own jewels, which ſcarce amounted to a thouſand. But her avarice was not ſatisfied with all this. There was a French nobleman, who had long courted me for a miſtreſs, and, not finding me ſo complying as he wiſhed, thought the beſt way was to buy me of my mother-in-law, whom he knew to be capable of ſuch a bargain. He offered her a preſent of two thouſand crowns,

to

to introduce him by night to my apartment. The wicked creature accepted of his bribe, and, taking her opportunity when my father was gone into the country, brought him late one night into my chamber, where ſhe imagined he would find me faſt aſleep. But it happened that I and mademoiſelle du Freſne, the ſiſter of Dalincourt, had been engaged in reading a romance, which kept us up beyond our uſual hour; and as her room was on the other ſide of the houſe, not to diſturb the family in paſſing through, ſhe went to bed with me. The romance ran ſo ſtrongly in my head, that I could not ſleep for thinking of it; and perceiving that the moon ſhone very brightly, I got up, ſlipped on a night-gown, and went out to take a walk in a little garden that lay contiguous to my chamber. I had not been there above half an hour before I heard du Freſne call out for help; and, coming in to her aſſiſtance, ſaw my lover ſtruggling with her at ſuch advantage, that I was almoſt afraid I came too late. I joined my cries to hers; and the noiſe we made ſo alarmed the marquis, that he thought it beſt to retire as ſoon as poſſible; eſpecially when he diſcovered his miſtake, and that my infamous mother-in-law had put him to bed to her own ugly ſiſter inſtead of me.

But, to be revenged of her for what he took to be a deſign of impoſing upon him, he revealed to us the part ſhe had in this affair, and bid me tell her, that he did not think the enjoyment

joyment of Mademoiſelle du Freſne worth a quarter of the money he had given her.—After making this confeſſion, he went off, and was hardly got ſafe out of the houſe, when two or three of our ſervants came in to us, to know what was the matter. The ſtory ſoon reached my father's ears; and I was ſo angry at my ſtep-mother for her intention againſt my honour, that, in the heat of my paſſion, I told him all that the marquis had revealed, and du Freſne confirmed it: which imprudence we had both reaſon to repent of. My father was ſo ſhocked and afflicted at it, that it threw him into a fever, which proved mortal. He was no ſooner dead, but his loving widow turned her ſiſter and me out of doors; and it was with great difficulty that I carried off my money and neceſſary apparel. In this diſtreſs, which was the greateſt I ever knew, du Freſne propoſed to me to go with her to Bruſſels, where ſhe had an old aunt whom ſhe expected ſomething from, and that would be willing to receive us. I gladly accepted of her propoſal, my ſpirit being too high to return to England in the condition I was reduced to. When we came to Bruſſels, we found that her aunt was dead, but had left her the beſt part of what ſhe had, which amounted to a reaſonable ſubſiſtence. We agreed that I ſhould board with her under the name of mademoiſelle Dalincourt, and pretend I was a relation of her former brother-in-law; ſhe not caring to ſay any thing of the laſt alliance, which

which had been attended with ſuch ill conſequences to us both. Upon this foot I lived with her very quietly, till the count d'Aguilar found me out, and, by corrupting my mercenary friend, obtained more frequent acceſs to me than I deſired.

You remember the diſorder I was in when he brought you firſt to ſee me. I knew you inſtantly; for my love had traced your image too ſtrongly in my mind to be effaced by any length of time; whereas your indifference quickly made you loſe all memory of me, and the alteration of almoſt fifteen years had changed my perſon entirely from what it was when you ſaw me laſt.—I thought I ſhould have died with the ſurprize, and was going, as ſoon as I could ſpeak, to diſcover myſelf to you; but, perceiving that you did not remember me, I checked myſelf, and invented a pretence to cover my confuſion It ſtruck me, that I might poſſibly make ſome advantage of the diſguiſe in which you ſaw me: at leaſt, I was ſure of the ſatisfaction of converſing with you freely, and knowing what had happened to you ſince our parting. When you came to me again as the confidant of the count d'Aguilar, it was no ſmall revenge and pleaſure to me, to ſee you ignorantly helping another man to debauch your own wife; and I could have found in my heart to have let you ſucceed in your friendly mediation, as a puniſhment for the injuries you had done me: but my virtue ſoon rejected that temptation,

and

and I thought of nothing but how to gain your eſteem.

When you brought me the baſe propoſal of count d'Aguilar, it appeared to me ſuch a mark of your contempt, that I fully reſolved not to ſee you any more. But when you expreſſed a repentance of that fault, and declared a reſpectful paſſion for me, even to the offering me marriage, I yielded to the dictates of my love, and admitted you to all freedoms but one. That, I told you, your future conduct might obtain; and I believe, ſaid ſhe bluſhing, you will hardly now have the ſame reluctance to accept it as you had formerly. But though I had thus engaged you by your promiſe, and ſtill more by your inclination, my happineſs was far from being fixed. While the name of Emilia was concealed, I could not tell how the knowledge of it might affect you. It was ſtill in your power to make me miſerable, by being angry with my innocent deceit. But, ſince you have been ſo good to approve it, and acknowledge me for your wife, I ſhall make it my whole ſtudy and ambition to deſerve that title, and never think of my paſt misfortunes, but to enhance my preſent happineſs."

Thus Emilia ended her narration; and received the compliments of count d'Aguilar and his lady, who both expreſſed the higheſt joy at her good fortune.

Polydore,

Polydore, on his ſide, endeavoured to perſuade the counteſs to follow the example of Emilia, and be reconciled to her huſband. She anſwered him coldly, that ſhe had too much experience of the temper of the count, to truſt to a ſudden fit of fondneſs, which would wear itſelf out in a few months: that ſhe was neither ſo young nor ſo handſome now, as before their ſeparation; how then could ſhe flatter herſelf, that he would like her better, when ſhe was really leſs amiable? That what ſhe had done for him might ſecure his eſteem, but ſhe had received abundant proof that his eſteem could but ill ſecure his love. I know, ſaid ſhe, the weakneſs of my heart: were I to live with him again, I ſhould be jealous of him, even though he did not give me cauſe; and that would certainly make us both unhappy. It is better for me to leave him to his pleaſures, and endeavour to ſecure my own tranquillity, by retiring from a world which I am unfit for.

Polydore, finding it in vain to argue with her, and admiring the greatneſs of her mind, took his leave of the count, and returned to Bruſſels, where his marriage with Emilia was *conſummated almoſt twenty years after it was contracted.*

LETTER XXXII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I WENT yeſterday with one of my acquaintance to ſee a friend of his, who has a houſe about twenty miles from London. He had formerly been a citizen and tradeſman, but growing rich on a ſudden by ſome lucky hit in the more profitable trade of ſtock-jobbing, he as ſuddenly ſet up for a judge in architecture, painting, and all the arts which men of quality would be thought to underſtand, and built this houſe as a ſpecimen of his learning. When we came in, though it was in the midſt of winter, we were carried into a room without a fire-place; and which *looked*, if poſſible, ſtill colder than it *felt*. I ſuppoſe, ſaid I, this *ſtone vault* that we are in, is deſigned to be *the burying-place* of the family: but I ſhould be glad to ſee the rooms in which they *live*; for the chillneſs of theſe walls is inſupportable to a Perſian conſtitution.

I ſee, ſaid my companion, that you have *no taſte*, or elſe you could not be cold in a *ſaloon* ſo *beautiful* as this.

Before I had time to make him any anſwer, the maſter of the houſe came in; but, inſtead of carrying us to a fire, as I hoped

hoped he would, he walked us about all his vaſt apartments, then down into the offices under ground, and laſt into a garden, where a north-eaſt wind, that blew very keen from off a *heath* to which it was laid open, finiſhed what the *ſaloon* had begun, and gave me a cold, which took away my voice in the very inſtant that I was going to complain of what he made me ſuffer. At length we ended our obſervations, and ſat down to dinner, in a room where, by good fortune, the rules of architecture allowed us to be warm; but when the meat was ſerved, I was in great confuſion not to know how to aſk for any diſh of all I ſaw before me; for it ſeems the gentleman ate in the *French way*, and noting came up to his table in its natural form. My uneaſineſs was ſtill greater, when, upon taſting of five or ſix different compoſitions, I found they were all mixed with the fleſh of hogs *, which I could not touch without pollution.

After loſing my dinner in this manner, I was entertained all the evening with a converſation between the gentleman of the houſe and another man (who, they told me, was an architect) ſo ſtuffed with hard words and terms of art, that I could not underſtand one part in five of it. They talked much of certain men, called *virtuoſi*, whom, by the

* Larded.

near relation their title bore to *virtue*, I took at firſt to be *a ſett of rigid moraliſts*: but, upon enquiry, I diſcovered that they were a company of *fiddlers*, *eunuchs*, *painters*, *builders*, *gardeners*; and, above all, gentlemen that had *travelled into Italy*, who immediately came home perfect *virtuoſi*, though they went out *the dulleſt fellows* in the world. This order of men, which is pretty numerous (as I could collect from the diſcourſe of *theſe two adepts*), aſſume a ſort of *legiſlative authority* over the body of their countrymen: they bid one man pull down his houſe, and build another, which he can neither pay for nor inhabit; they take a diſlike to the furniture of a ſecond, and command him to change it for a different one, more expenſive and leſs commodious; they order a third to go and languiſh at an *opera*, when he had rather be hallooing in a bear-garden: it is even feared they will take upon them to decide what ſort of woman every man ſhall be *in love with*, and preſcribe a particular colour of eyes and hair for the only object of *univerſal inclination*.

I deſired to be informed whether *this juriſdiction* had been *ancient* in this kingdom, having met with no traces of it in hiſtory?

No, ſaid he, it is ſo *modern*, that all the laws of it are changed once in every ſeven years; and that which before was the *only thing*

thing right, becomes at once *a high crime and miſdemeanor.*

Upon the whole, it appears to me to be a kind of *epidemical madneſs*; and I am afraid to return to my own country, for fear I ſhould carry it with me thither, as thoſe who have been in Italy bring the infection along with them into England.

LETTER XXXIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is a lady's houſe where I often paſs my time, though I have very little intimacy with her; becauſe it is really being in a *public place*, and making a viſit to half the town. The firſt time I went thither I congratulated her on the prodigious number of her friends, and told her, that ſhe muſt certainly be poſſeſſed of moſt extraordinary perfections, to attract ſuch a variety of people, and pleaſe them all alike.—But I ſoon found that, in all that crowd of viſitants, there was hardly one who came thither on her account; but that their reaſon for coming was the ſame as hers for receiving them, becauſe they had nothing elſe to do.

The laſt time I was there, I met a gentleman, whoſe character I was ſtill a ſtranger to, though I was very well acquainted with his face.

I want to know (ſaid I to a lady who ſat next me) what is the merit of that gentleman over-againſt us, which recommends him ſo much to all the world? It ſeems to me, that he does nothing, ſays nothing, means nothing, and is nothing; yet I always ſee him in good company!

His

His character, ſaid ſhe, may be comprehended in very few words—he is a *good-natured man*.

I am mighty glad to hear it, returned I, for I want ſuch a man very much: there is a friend of mine in great diſtreſs, and it lies in his power to do him ſervice.

No, ſaid ſhe, he is of too indolent a temper, to give himſelf the trouble of ſerving any body.

Then what ſignifies his *good-nature?* anſwered I; or how do you know that he *has any?*

During this dialogue between us, the reſt of the company had turned their diſcourſe wholly upon ſcandal; and few reputations were ſpared by them, that were *good* enough to be thought *worth attacking*.

The *good-natured* man ſat ſilently attentive, and with great humanity let them abuſe his abſent friends as much as they thought fit.

When that was over, he began to entertain us with his ſorrow for the death of a noble perſon, who, he ſaid, had been his patron and benefactor: but, methought, he talked of it mightily *at his eaſe*; and the lady, who had given me his character, whiſpered me, that, notwithſtanding his obligations and love to *the deceaſed*, he was now making court to *his* worſt enemy, as obſequiouſly as he ever had to *him*.

At that inſtant there came in a certain colonel, who, as ſoon as he ſaw my gentle-

man, ran up to him, and embracing him very tenderly, My dear Jack, ſaid he, thou ſhalt be *drunk* with me to-night.

You know I have been ill, ſaid the other gently; and *drinking* does not agree with me.

No matter for that, replied the colonel, you muſt poſitively be drunk before you ſleep; for I am diſappointed of my company, and will not be reduced either to drink by myſelf, or to go to bed ſober.

The *good-natured man* could not reſiſt ſuch obliging ſolicitations: he kindly agreed to the propoſal; and all the room expreſſed their apprehenſions, that his *good-nature* would be the death of him ſome time or other.

LETTER XXXIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I HAD, laſt night, ſo extraordinary a dream, and it made ſuch an impreſſion upon my mind, that I cannot forbear writing thee an account of it.

I thought I was tranſported, on a ſudden, to the palace of Iſpahan. Our mighty lord was ſitting on a throne, the ſplendor of which my eyes could hardly bear: at the foot of it were his *emirs* and great officers, all proſtrate on the ground in adoration, and expecting their fate from his commands. Around him ſtood a multitude of his guards, ready to execute any orders he ſhould give, and ſtriking terror into the hearts of all his ſubjects.—My ſoul was awed with the majeſty of the ſcene; and I ſaid to myſelf, Can a king of England compare himſelf to this? can he, whoſe authority is confined within the narrow bounds of law, pretend to an equality with a monarch, whoſe power has no limits but his will?

I had ſcarce made this reflection, when, turning my eyes a ſecond time towards the throne, inſtead of the *ſophi*, I ſaw an *eunuch* ſeated there, who ſeemed to govern more deſpotically than he. The *eunuch* was ſoon changed

changed into a woman, who alſo took the *tiara* and the ſword. To her ſucceeded another, and then a third: but, before ſhe was well eſtabliſhed in her ſeat, the captain of the guards that ſtood around us marched up to the throne, and ſeized upon it. In that moment I looked, and beheld the *ſophi* lying ſtrangled on the floor, with his *vizir* and three of his *ſultanas*. Struck with horror at this ſpectacle, I left the palace, and going out into the city, ſaw it abandoned to the fury of the ſoldiers, who pillaged all its riches, and cut the throats of the defenceleſs inhabitants. From thence I made my eſcape into the country, which was a waſte uncultivated deſert, where I found nothing but idleneſs and want.

O, ſaid I, how much happier is England, and how much greater are its kings! Their throne is eſtabliſhed upon juſtice, and therefore cannot be overturned. They are guarded by the affections of their people, and have no military violence to fear. They are the moſt to be honoured of all princes, becauſe their government is beſt framed to make their ſubjects rich, happy, and ſafe.

LETTER XXXV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I HAD ſome diſcourſe to-day with an Engliſh gentleman, who has an affectation of being thought a great *philoſopher*: his pretenſions to it conſiſt in nothing elſe but refining away all the happineſs of his life. By a great force of reaſoning, he is arrived at a total *diſhreliſh* of *himſelf*, and as complete an *indifference* to *others*. I am quite weary of living, ſaid he to me. I have gone through every thing that bears the name of pleaſure, and am abſolutely diſguſted with it all. I have no taſte for the common amuſements of wine, women, or play, becauſe I have experienced the folly of purſuing them: and as for buſineſs, it appears to me to be more *ridiculous* than any of the three. The buſtle of the town diſturbs my quiet, and in the country I am dying of the ſpleen. I believe I ſhall go with you into Perſia, only to change the ſcene a little; and when I am tired of being there, take a doſe of *opium*, and remove to the other world.

I hope

I hope, Mirza, that thou and I ſhall never know what it is to be *ſo wiſe*; but make the beſt of thoſe comforts and delights which nature has kindly beſtowed upon us, and endeavour to diffuſe them as wide as poſſible, by the practice of thoſe virtues from which they flow.

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LETTER XXXVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA, *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is another gentleman of my acquaintance, who is a *philoſopher*, but of a ſpecies very different from him I deſcribed to thee in my laſt.

He is poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate, which his friends are as much maſters of as he. His children love him out of a principle of *gratitude*, by far more endearing than that of *duty*; and his ſervants conſider him as a *father*, whom it would be *unnatural* for them not to *obey*.

His tenants are never hurt by drought or rain, becauſe the goodneſs of their lord makes amends for the inclemency of the ſky.

The whole country looks *gay* about his dwelling, and you may trace all his footſteps by his bounties.

Is it not ſtrange (I have often heard him ſay) that men ſhould be ſo delicate as not to bear a *diſagreeable picture* in their houſes, and yet force every *face* they ſee about them to wear a cloud of uneaſineſs and diſcontent? Is there any object ſo pleaſing to the eye, as the ſight of a man whom you have obliged; or any muſick ſo agreeable to the ear,

ear, as the voice of one that owns you for his benefactor?

He has alſo a deep ſenſe of religion; which is ſo far from caſting a gloom over his mind, that it is to *that* chiefly he owes his conſtant ſerenity. Were there no reward (ſaid he to me in our laſt converſation) for virtue after this life, a wiſe man would practiſe it for its own beauty and reaſonableneſs *here:* yet the wiſeſt man in that caſe might be unhappy from the perverſity of accidents; but he who adds to the *pleaſures* of *virtue* the *hopes* of *religion*, has no excuſe for ſinking under any misfortune; and, without the extravagance of philoſophical pride, may always find a reſource in his mind, as much ſuperior to all human events, as the infinite extent of eternity is beyond the ſhort bounds of human duration.

Such are the notions of this man concerning *happineſs:* and it is probable they are not very *wrong*; for he himſelf is never *out of humour*, nor is it poſſible to be ſo *in his company* *.

* This is evidently the portrait of our noble Author's Father. See the Letters in vol. III.

LETTER XXXVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I WENT laſt night with my friend to ſee a lady, whoſe houſe is the favourite reſort of the moſt agreeable people of both ſexes. The lady herſelf received me with a good breeding, which I found was the reſult of good ſenſe: ſhe treated me as a *ſtranger* that came *to ſee*, not like a *monſter* that came to be *ſeen*; and ſeemed more deſirous to appear in a good light herſelf to me, though a Perſian, than to ſet me in a ridiculous one to her company. The converſation turned upon various ſubjects, in all which ſhe bore a conſiderable, but not a petulant or overbearing, part; and with modeſty ſhewed herſelf a miſtreſs of moſt of the living languages, and not unacquainted with antient and modern hiſtory.

The reſt of the company had their due ſhare of the converſation, which was carried on with ſpirit and good-manners. One gentleman in particular diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſuperiority of his wit, accompanied with ſo much delicacy and politeneſs, that none who heard him felt themſelves hurt by that *pre-eminence*, which he alone ſeemed not to be conſcious of.

His wit was all founded on good ſenſe; it was wit which a Perſian could comprehend as eaſily as an Engliſhman: whereas moſt that I have met with from other men, who are ambitious of being admired for that accompliſhment, is confined not only to the taſte of their own countrymen, but to that of their own peculiar ſett of friends. When this gentleman had entertained us, for an hour or two, with the juſteſt as well as livelieſt remarks, both on perſons and things, that I ever heard, he went away; and to comfort us for loſing him, there came in *the man of great good-nature*, whom I deſcribed to thee in one of my former letters.

This *courteous perſon*, hearing all of us very warm in praiſe of the *other's* wit, joined in with us; but ended his panegyrick, with a plain, though indirect, inſinuation, that there was a *ſatirical turn in it*, which rendered it very *dangerous*; and that the gentleman could not poſſibly be ſo witty, but at the expence of his good-nature.

I could not help being quite angry at ſo impertinent and ill-grounded a reflection on a man for whom I had conceived a great eſteem; and deſired to know why he ſuppoſed him to be *ill-natured*, only becauſe he was not *dull*. Has he abuſed, ſaid I, any worthy man? has he defamed any woman of good character? If all the edge of his wit is turned on thoſe who are juſtly the objects of ridicule, his wit is as great a benefit to

to *private life*, as the ſword of the magiſtrate is to *the publick*.

My gentleman, fearing to be drawn into a diſpute, which he could not carry on without expoſing the ſecret envy of his heart, changed the diſcourſe: and for the reſt of his ſtay among us, which was not very long, kept a moſt ſtrict ſilence; and gave no other indications of life, but that of laughing whenever any body laughed, and nods and geſtures of approbation to whoever ſpoke.

The moment he was gone, I told my friend, that I did not much wonder to ſee that gentleman in *mixed company*, where it was enough that he gave no offence; but that, in a ſelect ſociety as this was, he ſhould be received only from a general notion of his *good-nature*, which was ſupported by no one action of his life, ſeemed to me entirely unaccountable: for, even allowing his pretenſions to that title, I was ſurprized that ſuch a character ſhould be ſo *ſcarce*, as to make it ſo very valuable.

I can eaſily conceive, continued I, that the notorious reverſe of that virtue would be a good reaſon *to turn* a man *out of company*; but I cannot think, that the poſſeſſion of that virtue, deſtitute of all others, is a reaſon for *letting him into it*.

If you will keep my ſecret, replied my friend, I will tell you the whole truth; but if you diſcover me, I ſhall paſs for *ill-*

natured myſelf. You muſt know then, that there are about this town ten thouſand ſuch fellows as this, who, without a grain of ſenſe or merit, make their way by reciprocally complimenting one another. Their numbers make them formidable, eſpecially ſupported as they are by the fair ſex. They ſneak into good company like *dogs* after ſome man of ſenſe, whom they ſeem to belong to; where they neither *bark* nor *bite*, but *cringe* and *fawn*: ſo that neither good-manners nor humanity will allow one to kick them out, till at laſt they acquire a ſort of *right by ſufferance*. They preſerve their character, by having no will of their own, which in reality is owing to their having no diſtinguiſhing judgement. They are all poſſeſſed of ſome degree of cunning; and their paſſions are too low and dull to break in upon it, or hurry them into the indiſcretions of men of parts. Beſides, they know that they are in a conſtant ſtate of probation, where the leaſt tranſgreſſion damns them: they carry no compenſation about them; for *active* faults will not be borne, where there are at beſt but *negative* virtues. The ſmall number of people of ſenſe are forced to ſubmit, in this as in many other ſilly cuſtoms, to a tyrannical majority; and laviſh undeſervedly the valuable character of good-nature, to avoid being as unjuſtly branded with that of ill-nature themſelves.

Might

Might not another reaſon be given for it? anſwered I. Are not *vanity* and *ſelf-love* the great cauſes of not only the toleration, but the privileges, theſe people enjoy? and does not ſecurity from cenſure, certainty of applauſe, or the diſcovery of an eminent ſuperiority, prevail with thoſe of the beſt parts to really like, what they only pretend to ſuffer, the converſation of thoſe of the worſt? Very poſſibly, replied my friend: at leaſt the *vanity* of the wiſeſt is certainly the *comfort* of the weakeſt; and ſeems to be given as an allay to ſuperior underſtandings, like cares to ſuperior ſtations, to preſerve a certain degree of equality, that Providence intended among mankind.

LETTER XXXVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I HAD yeſterday the pleaſure of a ſpectacle, than which nothing is more ſtriking to a foreigner, becauſe he can have a right idea of it no where elſe: I ſaw the three eſtates of the kingdom aſſembled in parliament. The king was on his throne in all his majeſty; around him ſat the peers in their different robes; at the bar ſtood the ſpeaker of the commons, attended by the houſe. Accuſtomed as I am to the ſublime court of our great emperor, I beheld this ſcene with much more reverence: but it was reverence mixed with love. Now, and never till now, did I ſee a true image of *civil government*, the ſupport and perfection of human ſociety. A tyrant's court is no more worthy to be compared with this aſſembly, than a lion's den with a temple. Here ſuch laws as, after mature and free deliberation, have obtained the concurrence of the *nobles* and *commons* receive the *royal aſſent*; nor can any bind the people, which have not the authority of that *triple ſanction*. A gentleman who came with me made me obſerve, that when the commons ſent up the ſubſidies granted to the king, he *thanked them* for them, as an acknowledgemen

knowledgement that he had no power to raiſe them without their conſent. Anciently, added he, ſupplies of money and redreſs of grievances went together; but ſuch is the preſent happineſs of our condition, that we have *more* money than ever to beſtow, and *no* grievances at all to be redreſſed.

I have heard, ſaid I, that when theſe gifts are moſt liberal, they have a natural tendency, like plentiful exhalations drawn from the earth, to fall again upon the place from whence they came.

He was going to anſwer me, when the houſe roſe, and put an end to my enquiries.

LETTER XXXIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THIS morning I received a viſit from the gentleman, under whoſe conduct I had been at the houſe of lords. After ſome general diſcourſe upon that ſubject, he aſked me what I thought of their nobility?

I am too great a ſtranger, anſwered I, to have formed a right opinion of what they are; but, if you pleaſe, I will tell you freely what, I think, they ſhould be.

An Engliſh nobleman ſhould be a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the privileges of the people, becauſe he is perpetually entruſted with the care of them; and, at the ſame time, deſirous to preſerve the juſt rights of the crown, becauſe it is the ſource from which his honour is derived.

He ſhould have an eſtate that might ſet him above dependance; and employ the ſuperfluities, if ſuch there were, not in improving luxury, but in extending charity.

He ſhould make his dignity eaſy to his inferiors, by the modeſty and ſimplicity of his behaviour; nor ever think himſelf too great for the loweſt offices of friendſhip and humanity.

He ſhould claim no *privilege* that might exempt him from the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice; and afford his *protection*, not to men *obnoxious to the law*, but to every modeſt virtue and uſeful art.

The character you have drawn, replied my friend, though it be *rare*, yet is not *imaginary:* ſome there are to whom ſtill it may belong; and it eminently exiſts in a young nobleman, *grandſon* and *heir* to a late illuſtrious commander *, whoſe *name*, even in Perſia, is *not unknown*.

* Duke of Marlborough.

LETTER XL.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE Engliſh are bleſt with ſome privileges, which no other nation now in the world enjoys in ſo high a degree. One is, that they cannot be long deprived of their liberty upon ſuſpicion of any crime, not even of treaſon itſelf, without being brought to a trial: another is, that they cannot be *tortured*, either to force a confeſſion of what is laid to their charge, or a diſcovery of their accomplices. It is a wonderful thing, that even in many free ſtates, theſe two eſſential rights of human nature have not been ſecured: for can any thing be more repugnant to natural juſtice, than to puniſh without proof of a crime? or is there a greater puniſhment than long impriſonment and the infliction of violent pain, either of which is worſe than death to an innocent man? From both theſe evils the Engliſh are guarded by their excellent laws; which have alſo provided, that none ſhall undergo the vexation and ſhame of a trial in a criminal cauſe without the conſent of twelve of their countrymen, who are called the *grand jury*; nor can ſentence be paſt upon them,

them, but by the unanimous voice of twelve more of their equals, with as ſtrong proviſions (in trials for treaſon eſpecially) againſt any influence of fear or corruption, as human laws are able to frame. To theſe glorious privileges is added the right of being taxed by none but their repreſentatives, of adviſing the king in a parliamentary manner upon all matters of government, of enquiring into the conduct of miniſters, of arraigning the guilty, and taking them out of the ſhelter of the throne, liberty of ſpeech in parliament, and liberty of writing and publiſhing with all decent freedom what every man thinks upon publick affairs.

When I conſider all theſe advantages, and reflect on the ſtate I am in when in my own country, expoſed upon the lighteſt ſuſpicion to be ſhut up in a priſon, to be tortured there, and, if ever brought out from thence, to be tried by a partial judge, poſſibly by my accuſer himſelf, to have my eſtate taken from me at the emperor's pleaſure, having no means of redreſs againſt him or his miniſters, and deprived of the power even to complain; when I reflect on all this, I cannot but look upon the loweſt ſubject of England with envy, and with reſpect, as I ſhould on a being of an order ſuperior to mine.

But,

But, on the other hand, were there an Engliſhman wicked and fooliſh enough, to give up the leaſt of theſe rights for any temptation of fortune or power, I ſhould look down upon him, however exalted by titles or wealth, with more contempt than upon the loweſt ſlave in my ſeraglio: for, if *unwilling ſlavery* be the worſt of misfortunes, *voluntary ſervitude* is the baſeſt of crimes.

LETTER XLI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

ABOUT a fortnight ago, I went, in company with one of my acquaintance, to ſee a place in this city, called the *Exchange*, which is the general rendezvous of all the merchants, not only of England, but the whole trading world. I never yet came into an *aſſembly* with ſo much reſpect as into this. Theſe, ſaid I to my friend, are the moſt *uſeful*, and therefore the moſt *honourable*, of mankind. They are met here, to carry on the common happineſs; their *gains* are the *advantage* of the publick; and their *labour* makes the *eaſe* of human life.

I had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words, when he carried me out into a *neighbouring alley*, where I alſo ſaw ſome buſy faces, but which looked, methought, very different from the *others*. Theſe, ſaid he, are a ſort of *traders*, whoſe whole buſineſs is confined within the compaſs of this alley, where they create a kind of ebb and flow, which they know how to turn to good account; but which is deſtructive to all trade, except *their own*. Nay, they have ſometimes raiſed ſuch violent *tempeſts here*, that half the wealth of the nation has been ſunk by it.

They

They are then a ſort of *magicians*, anſwered I.

A moſt *diabolical one* truly, replied he; and what is moſt wonderful, *the maſters of the art* have the ſecret to render themſelves *inviſible*. Though they are always *virtually preſent here*, they never appear to vulgar eyes: but ſome of their *imps* are frequently diſcovered, and by their motions the ſkilful in this traffick ſteer their courſe, and regulate their ventures.

While he was ſaying this to me, there came up to us an ill-looked fellow, and aſked if we had any *ſtock* to ſell.

My friend whiſpered me in the ear, that this was *an imp*.—I ſtarted; called on Mahomet to protect me, and made the beſt of my way out of the alley.

LETTER XLII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THAT Abdallah, whom I mentioned in a former letter, is gone from England; thou wilt be affected with the virtue of the man, when I tell thee the cauſe of his departure. He ſent laſt week to deſire I would come to him. I came, and found him oppreſſed with the deepeſt ſorrow. Ah, Selim! ſaid he to me, I muſt leave thee; I muſt go, and diſcharge my duty to the beſt of fathers: I muſt give my all for him to whom I owe it. At theſe words, he put a letter into my hand, which he had juſt received the day before; I found by it, that his father, who was a merchant, in a voyage from Grand Cairo to Aleppo, was taken by a cruizer of the iſle of Malta, and, being unable himſelf to pay his ranſom, had written to his ſon to do it for him. Thou knoweſt, ſaid he to me, that I am not rich: to raiſe the ſum demanded for my father's liberty, I muſt ſell all my effects, and leave myſelf without the means of a ſubſiſtence, except what my labour can procure me. But my own diſtreſs is not what concerns me moſt: the fear of poverty cannot fright me from my

my duty; I only grieve for the fate of my poor wife, whom the ruin of my fortune will expoſe to indigence and ſhame. It is for her ſake that I have ſent for you: and I conjure you by all our friendſhip, by the prophet, and the God whom we adore, not to refuſe me the firſt favour I ever aſked.—When he had ſaid this, he opened the door of another room, where I ſaw a beautiful woman in the Turkiſh habit, who, with a modeſty peculiar to our Eaſtern ladies, endeavoured to conceal herſelf from my regards. Come hither, Zelis, ſaid my friend, and ſee the man whom I have choſen to protect you: ſee him who muſt ſhortly be your huſband, in the room of the unfortunate Abdallah.

Then, turning to me, and weeping bitterly, This, cried he, O Selim, is the grace for which I am a ſuppliant: permit me to give her to a man, who I know will uſe her well. I am reſolved to divorce her this very inſtant, according to the power allowed me by our law, if you will conſent to take her for your wife; nor could the ſophi himſelf make you a preſent of greater value. If the charms of her perſon are not ſufficient to recommend her to you, know that her mind is ſtill fairer, and more accompliſhed. I brought her with me into England three years ago; in all which time, ſhe has hardly ſtirred out of my houſe, nor deſired any company but mine.

It

It is impoſſible to be happier with a wife, than I have been with her: nothing ſhould ever have prevailed on me to part with her, but the deſire to ſeparate her from my misfortunes, and to procure her a maintenance agreeable to her birth and merit, which I am no longer able to provide for her myſelf.

He had ſcarce ended, when the lady, taking her hair, and beating the whiteſt breaſt I ever ſaw, implored him not to think of a ſeparation, more painful to her than any miſery that poverty could reduce her to.

After many paſſionate expreſſions of her love, ſhe declared, that ſhe would accompany him to Malta, and beg her bread with him afterwards, if it was neceſſary, rather than ſtay behind in the moſt affluent condition. But he poſitively refuſed to let her go; and inſiſted upon giving her to me, as the only expedient to make him eaſy. To carry her with me, ſaid he, would be expoſing her to ſuch dangers and wants, as I cannot endure even to think of. But leſs can I bear the thought of leaving her here, in a nation of infidels, among women *who have given up modeſty*, and men who profeſs *to make war upon it* wherever it is to be found. Your houſe is the only aſylum to which her virtue can ſafely retire. As your wife, ſhe will be protected from any inſult, even in *this land of licentiouſneſs*. To theſe words of Abdallah, Zelis replied with many *arguments*, but with more *tears*. I continued ſome time a ſilent

ſilent witneſs of this extraordinary diſpute; but, at laſt, ſeeing him determined to divorce her, I told him, I would accept her as a treaſure committed to my hands, not for my own uſe, but to ſecure it for my friend: that ſhe ſhould remain with me under the character of my wife, but I would always be a ſtranger to her bed; and if, at his return, he found himſelf in circumſtances ſufficient to maintain her, I would reſtore her back again to him untouched: or, in caſe they ſhould mutually deſire it, carry her with me to my ſeraglio in the Eaſt. They were both much comforted with this aſſurance; and Zelis conſented to ſtay with me, ſince Abdallah commanded it. The poor man embarked for Malta the following week, with his whole fortune on board for his father's ranſom; and left me ſo touched with his filial piety, that I made an offer to pay part of it myſelf: but he told me, I had done enough for him, in taking care of what was deareſt to him upon earth, and refuſed any further ſuccour from me.

N. B. *This Story is reſumed, in* Letter LXXVI.

LETTER XLIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I Lately fell into diſcourſe with an Engliſhman, who has well examined the conſtitution of his country. I begged him to tell me, what he thought of the preſent ſtate of it. Two principal evils, anſwered he, are making way for arbitrary power, if the court ſhould ever be inclined to take advantage of them, *viz.* the abuſe of our wealth, and the abuſe of our eloquence. The laſt is, if poſſible, more miſchievous than the firſt; for it ſeduces thoſe whom money could not corrupt. It is the moſt pernicious of all our refinements, and the moſt to be dreaded in a free country. To ſpeak truth, is the privilege of a freeman; to do it roundly and plainly, is his glory. Thus it was that the ancient Romans debated every thing that concerned the commonwealth, at a time when they beſt knew how to govern, before Greece had infected them with rhetorick: as nothing was propounded to them with diſguiſe, they eaſily judged what was moſt for their honour and intereſt. But the thing called eloquence here is of another kind. It is leſs the talent of enforcing truth, than of impoſing falſehood; it does not depend on a true know-

ledge of the matter in debate, for generally it aims at nothing more than a ſpecious appearance: nor is wiſdom a neceſſary quality in the compoſition of an orator; he can do without it very well, provided he has the happy facility of diſcourſing ſmoothly, and aſſerting boldly. I own to thee, Mirza, this account ſurprized me; we have no knowledge in the Eaſt of ſuch an eloquence as this man deſcribed: it is our cuſtom to ſpeak naturally and pertinently, without ever imagining that there was an art in it, or that it was poſſible to talk finely upon a ſubject which we do not underſtand.

Pray, Sir, ſaid I, when theſe orators you tell me of have been caught two or three times *in a lie*, do not you treat them with the utmoſt contempt? Quite the contrary, anſwered he: the whole merit and pride of their profeſſion is to *deceive:* they are to lay falſe colours upon every thing; and the greater the impoſition is, the greater their reputation. The orator who can only perſuade us to act againſt ſome of our leſſer intereſts, is *but a genius of* the *ſecond rate*; but he who can compel us by his eloquence to violate the moſt eſſential, is *an able man indeed*, and will certainly *riſe very high*. I ſuppoſe, it may be your cuſtom in Perſia to beſtow employments on ſuch perſons as have particularly qualified themſelves for them: you put the care of the army and the marine into the hands of ſoldiers and ſeamen; you make one man

man ſecretary of ſtate, becauſe he has been bred in foreign courts, and underſtands the intereſts of your neighbouring princes; to another you truſt the revenue, becauſe he is ſkilful in œconomy, and has proved himſelf above the temptation of embezzling what paſſes through his hands. Yes, replied I, this is ſurely the right method, and I conclude it muſt be yours. No, ſaid he, we are above thoſe vulgar prejudices; ſuch qualifications are not requiſite among us: to be fit for any or all of theſe poſts, one muſt be a *good ſpeaker in parliament*. How! ſaid I, becauſe I make a fine harangue upon a treaty of peace, am I therefore fit to ſuperintend an army? We think ſo, anſwered he. And if I can plauſibly defend a miniſter of ſtate from a reaſonable charge brought againſt him, have I thereby a title to be taken into the adminiſtration? Beyond diſpute, in this country, anſwered he. Why then, by Mahomet, ſaid I, your government may well be ſick. What a diſtempered body muſt that be, whoſe members are ſo monſtrouſly out of joint, that there is no one part in its proper place! If my tongue ſhould undertake to do the office of my head and arms, the abſurdity and the impotency would be juſt the ſame.

Yet thus, ſaid he, we go on, lamely enough, I muſt confeſs; but ſtill admiring our own wiſe policy, and laughing at the reſt of the world.

You may laugh, replied I, as you think fit; but, if the ſultan, my maſter, had among his counſellors ſuch an *orator* as you deſcribe, a fellow that would prate away truth, equity, and common ſenſe; by the tomb of our holy prophet, he would make a *mute* of him, and ſet him to watch over the *ſeraglio* inſtead of the *ſtate*.

At theſe words I was obliged to take my leave, and our diſcourſe was broke off till another meeting.

LET-

LETTER XLIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE next day I ſaw my friend again, and he reſumed the ſubject of eloquence. You cannot imagine, ſaid he to me, of what fatal conſequence this art of haranguing has been to all free ſtates. Good laws have been eſtabliſhed by wiſe men, who were far from being eloquent; and eloquent men, who were far from being wiſe, have every where deſtroyed or corrupted them. Look into hiſtory, you will find, that the ſame period which carried eloquence to its perfection, was almoſt always mortal to liberty. The republicks of Greece, and that of Rome, did not ſee their moſt celebrated orators, till the very moment that their conſtitutions were overturned. And how, indeed, ſhould it be otherwiſe? When once it becomes a faſhion to advance men to dignity and power, not for the good council that they give, but for an agreeable manner of recommending bad ones, it is impoſſible that a government ſo adminiſtered can long ſubſiſt. Is any thing complained of as amiſs? Inſtead of redreſs, they give you an oration. Have you propoſed a good and needful law? In exchange for that, you receive an oration. Has your natural reaſon determined you upon any

point? Up gets an orator, and ſo confounds you, that you are no longer able to reaſon at all. Is any right meaſure to be obſtructed, or wrong one to be advanced? There is an orator always ready; and it is moſt charmingly performed, to the delight of all the hearers.

I do not know, ſaid I, what pleaſure you may find in being deceived; but I dare ſay, ſhould theſe gentlemen undertake to inſtruct a merchant in his buſineſs, or a farmer in his work, without underſtanding either trade or huſbandry, they would only be laughed at for their pains; and yet, when they attempt to perſuade a nation to commit a thouſand ſenſeleſs faults, they are liſtened to with great attention, and come off with abundance of applauſe. But for my part, I think they deſerve nothing but hatred and contempt, for daring to play with ſuch ſacred things as truth, juſtice, and publick good, in ſo wanton and diſſolute a manner.

Moſt certainly, anſwered he, they are very dangerous to all ſociety. For what is it that they profeſs? do not they make it their boaſt, that they have the power to ſooth or inflame; that is, in proper terms, to make us partial, or to make us mad? are either of theſe tempers of the mind agreeable to the duty of a judge, or of a counſellor of ſtate? I maintain that it would be juſt as proper for us to decide a queſtion of right or wrong, after a debauch of wine, or a doſe of opium, as after being heated or cooled, to

the

the degree we often are, by the addreſs of one oftheſe ſkilful ſpeakers.

Wiſely was it done by the Venetians, to baniſh a member of their ſenate (as I have read they did) only becauſe they thought he had too much eloquence, and gained too great an aſcendant in their councils by that bewitching talent. Without ſuch a caution, there is no ſafety; for we are led, when we fancy that we act moſt freely; and the man who can maſter our affections, will have but little trouble with our reaſon.—But, to ſhew you the power of oratory, in its ſtrongeſt light, let us ſee what it does with religion: in itſelf it is ſimple and beneficent, full of charity and humility; and yet, let an eloquent Jeſuit get up into a pulpit, what monſtrous ſyſtems will he draw out of it! what pride, what tyranny, will he make it authorize! how much rancour and malignity will he graft upon it! If then the laws of God may be thus corrupted by the taint of eloquence, do we wonder that the laws of men cannot eſcape? No, ſaid I, no miſchiefs are to be wondered at, where the reaſon of mankind is ſo abuſed.

LETTER XLV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſaphan.

From London.

THE converſation I repeated to thee in my laſt letter was heard by a gentleman that ſat near us, who, I have been told, has found his account ſo much in eloquence, as to be intereſted in the defence of it: accordingly, he attacked my friend, and told him, he was afraid he had forgot his hiſtory, or he would have recollected that Demoſthenes and Cicero, the two greateſt orators that ever were, employed their rhetorick in the ſervice of their country. I might, perhaps, anſwered he, make ſome objections to the integrity of both; but, allowing what you ſay, it amounts to no more than this, that eloquence may be of ſervice to mankind in the poſſeſſion of very good men; and ſo may arbitrary power, of the greateſt ſervice: but yet we ſay in England, that it is wiſer not to truſt to it; becauſe, as it is generally managed, it becomes a moſt grievous oppreſſion. And, I am ſure, I can ſhew you in hiſtory as many orators that have abuſed their eloquence, as kings that have abuſed their authority: for, beſides the wickedneſs common to human nature, the vanity of making a bad

cauſe appear a good one is in itſelf a dangerous temptation. When a man ſees he is able to impoſe upon the judgements of others, he muſt be a very honeſt and very modeſt one, indeed, if he never does it wrongfully. Alas, Sir, returned his antagoniſt, the generality of men are too weak to bear truth! they muſt be cheated into happineſs.—I am ſure they are often *cheated out of it*, replied my friend: nor can I wholly agree to your propoſition in the ſenſe you underſtand it. It may be neceſſary for the government of mankind, not to tell them the *whole* truth: ſomething may be proper to be hid behind the veil of policy; but it is ſeldom neceſſary to tell them *lies*.

Theſe *pious frauds* are the inventions of very *impious men*; they are the tricks of thoſe who make the publick good a pretence for ſerving their private vices. Let us conſider how mankind was governed in thoſe ages and ſtates, where they are known to have been the happieſt. How was it in Athens, while the laws of Solon preſerved their force? was it then thought neceſſary to *lie* for the good of the commonwealth? No:—the people were truly informed of every thing that concerned them; and as they judged by their natural underſtanding, their determinations were right, and their actions glorious; but when the orators had got the dominion over them, and they were *deceived* upon the principle you eſtabliſh, what was the conſequence? Their leaders became factious and corrupt, their

government venal, their publick councils uncertain and fluctuating, either too *weakly fearful*, or too *raſhly bold*; till, at laſt, from generous high-ſpirited freemen, they ſunk into prating, contemptible ſlaves. In Rome the caſe was much the ſame: as long as they were a great and free people, they underſtood not theſe political refinements. All governments, in their firſt inſtitution, were founded in truth and juſtice, and the firſt rulers of them were generally honeſt men; but, by length of time, corruption is introduced, and men come to look upon thoſe frauds as neceſſary to government, which their forefathers abhorred as deſtructive to it. It does not, ſaid I, belong to me to decide in this diſpute; but it ſeems to be highly important, that *this power of deceiving for the publick good* ſhould be lodged in ſafe hands. And I ſuppoſe, that ſuch among you as are truſted with it, are very *conſtant* and *uniform* in their principles. Though *the colours* may vary, *the ground* of their conduct is ſtill the ſame. What with them is the *eſſential* and *fundamental* intereſt of the nation *now*, will certainly be ſo *next year*: diſgrace or favour can make no difference.

LETTER XLVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I WAS the other day in company with a clergyman, who has the education of ſeveral young noblemen committed to his care: a truſt of this importance made me regard him as one the moſt *conſiderable* men in England. This ſage, ſaid I to myſelf, has much to anſwer for: the virtue and happineſs of the next age will in a great meaſure depend on his capacity.—I was very deſirous to enter into diſcourſe with him, that I might know if he was equal to his office, and tried all the common topicks of converſation; but on none of theſe was I able to draw a word from him: at laſt, upon ſome point being ſtarted, which gave him occaſion to quote a Latin poet, he opened all at once, and poured forth ſuch a deluge of hard words, compoſed out of all the learned languages, that, though I underſtood but little of his meaning, I could not help admiring his elocution.

As his ſcholars were many of them born to an hereditary ſhare in the legiſlature, I concluded he muſt be thoroughly acquainted with the Engliſh conſtitution, and able to inſtruct them in the knowledge of it: but, upon aſking him ſome queſtions on that ſubject,

ject, I found, to my very great surprize, that he was more a stranger to it than myself, and had no notions of government, but what he drew from the *imaginary republick* of a Greek philosopher. Well, said I, you at least instruct your scholars in Grecian and Roman *virtue*; you light up in them a *spirit of liberty*; you exercise them in *justice* and *magnanimity*; you form them to a resemblance of the *great characters* they meet with in ancient authors. Far from it, said a gentleman in company. They are accustomed to *tremble at a rod*, to tell *lies* in excuse of trifling faults, to *betray their companions*, to be *spies and cowards*: the natural vigour of their spirits is broke, the natural ingenuity of their tempers varnished over, the natural bent of their genius curbed and thwarted. The whole purpose of their education is to acquire some Greek and Latin words; by this only they are allowed to try their parts; if they are backward in this, they are pronounced dunces, and often made so from discouragement and despair.

I should think, said I, if *words* only are to be taught them, they should learn to speak English with grace and elegance, which is particularly necessary in a government where eloquence has obtained so great a sway. That article is never thought of, answered he: I came myself from the college a perfect master of one or two dead languages; but could neither write nor speak my *own*, till it was

taught

aught me by the letters and converſation of *a lady about the court*, whom, luckily for my *education*, I fell in love with.

I have heard, ſaid I, that it is uſual for young gentlemen to finiſh their ſtudies in other countries; and, indeed, it ſeems neceſſary enough by the account you have given me of them here: but, if I may judge by the greateſt part of thoſe whom I have ſeen at their return, the *foreign maſters* are no better than the Engliſh, and the *foreign miſtreſſes* not ſo good. Were I to go back to Perſia with an Engliſh coat, an Engliſh footman, and an Engliſh *cough*, it would amount to juſt the improvement made in France by one half of the youth who travel thither.

Add to theſe, a taſte for muſick, replied the gentleman, with two or three terms of building and of painting; and you would want but *one taſte more* to be as *accompliſhed* as ſome of the fineſt gentlemen that Italy ſends us back.

LET-

LETTER XLVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

FROM considering the education of Engliſh gentlemen, we turned our diſcourſe to that of Engliſh ladies. I aſked a married man that was in company, to inſtruct me a little in the courſe of it, being particularly curious to know the methods which could render a woman in this country ſo different a creature from one in Perſia. Indeed, Sir, ſaid he, you muſt aſk *my wife*, not me, that queſtion; theſe are myſteries I am not allowed to pry into. When I preſume to give my advice about it, ſhe tells me, the education of a lady is above the capacity of a man, let him be ever ſo wiſe in his own affairs. I ſhould think, ſaid I, that as the purpoſe of women's breeding is nothing elſe but to teach them to *pleaſe men*; a *man* ſhould be a better judge of *that* than any woman in the world. But, pray Sir, what in general have you obſerved of this *myſterious inſtitution?* I do not inquire into the ſecrets *behind the altar*, but only the outward forms of *diſcipline* which are expoſed to the eyes of all the world. Why, Sir, replied he, the firſt great point which every

mother aims at, is to make her girl *a goddeſs* if ſhe can.

A goddeſs! cried I, in great aſtoniſhment.

Yes, ſaid he; you have none of them in the Eaſt; but here we have five or ſix in every ſtreet; there never were more *divinities* in Ægypt, than there are at this time in the town of London. In order therefore to fit them for *that character*, they are made to *throw off human nature*, as much as poſſible, in their looks, geſtures, words, actions, dreſs, *&c.*—But is it not apt to return again? ſaid I.—Yes, replied he, it returns indeed again, but ſtrangely diſtorted and deformed. The ſame thing happens to their *minds* as to their *ſhapes*; both are *crampt* by a violent confinement, which makes them ſwell out *in the wrong place*. You cannot conceive the wild tricks that women play, from this habitual perverſion of their faculties: there is not a ſingle quality belonging to them, which they do not apply to other purpoſes than Providence deſigned it for. Hence it is, that they are vain of being *cowards*, and *aſhamed* of being *modeſt:* hence they *ſmile* on the man whom they *diſlike*, and *look cold* on him they *love:* hence they kill every ſentiment of their own, and not only *act with the faſhion*, but really *think with it*. All this is taught them carefully from their childhood, or elſe it would be impoſſible ſo to conquer their natural diſpoſitions.

I do

I do not know, ſaid I, what the uſe is of theſe inſtructions; but it ſeems to me, that in a country where the women are admitted to a familiar and conſtant ſhare in every active ſcene of life, particular care ſhould be taken in their education, to *cultivate their reaſon*, and *form their hearts*, that they may be equal to the part they have to act. Where great temptations muſt occur, great virtues are required; and the *giddy ſituations* in which they are placed, or love to place themſelves, demand a more than ordinary ſtrength of brain. In Perſia a woman has no occaſion for any thing but beauty, becauſe of the confinement which ſhe lives under, and therefore that only is attended to: but *here*, methinks, good ſenſe is ſo very neceſſary, that it is the buſineſs of a lady to improve and adorn her underſtanding with as much application as the other ſex; and, generally ſpeaking, *by methods much the ſame*.

LET-

LETTER XLVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I WAS this morning with ſome gentlemen of my acquaintance, who were talking of the attempt that had been made not long ago of ſetting up a preſs at Conſtantinople, and the oppoſition it had met with from the *muſti*. They applied to me, to know what I thought of it, and whether in Perſia alſo it was our religion that deprived us of ſo uſeful an art.

I told them, that policy had more part than religion in that affair: that the preſs was a very dangerous engine, and the abuſes of it made us juſtly apprehend ill conſequences from it.

You are in the right, ſaid one of the company, for this ſingle reaſon, *becauſe your government is a deſpotick one.* But in a free country, the preſs may be very uſeful, as long as it is under no partial reſtraint: for it is of great conſequence, that the people ſhould be informed of every thing that concerns them; and, without printing, ſuch knowledge could not circulate, either ſo eaſily or ſo faſt. And to argue againſt any branch of liberty from the ill uſe that may be made of it, is to argue againſt liberty itſelf, ſince all is capable of

being abuſed: nor can any part of freedom be more important, or better worth contending for, than that by which the ſpirit of it is *preſerved*, *ſupported*, and *diffuſed*. By this appeal to the judgement of the people, we lay ſome reſtraint upon thoſe miniſters, who may have found means to ſecure themſelves from any other *leſs incorruptible tribunal*; and ſure they have no reaſon to complain, if the publick exerciſes a right, which cannot be denied without avowing that their conduct will not bear enquiry. For though the beſt adminiſtration may be attacked by calumny, I can hardly believe it would be hurt by it, becauſe I have known a great deal of it employed to very little purpoſe againſt gentlemen in oppoſition to miniſters, who had nothing to defend them but the force of truth. I do not mean by this to juſtify any ſcurrilities upon the *perſonal characters* either of magiſtrates or private men, or any *libel properly ſo called*. Againſt ſuch abuſes of the preſs the laws have provided a remedy; and let the laws take their courſe; it is for the intereſt of liberty they ſhould do ſo, as well as for the ſecurity and honour of government: but let them not be ſtrained into oppreſſion by *forced conſtructions*, or *extraordinary acts of power*, alike repugnant to natural juſtice, and to the ſpirit of a free ſtate. Such arbitrary practices no provocation can juſtify, no precedents warrant, no danger excuſe.

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The gentleman, who ſpoke thus, was contradicted by another of the company, who, with great warmth, and many arguments, maintained, "That the licentiouſneſs of the "preſs was grown, of late, to ſuch a danger-"ous heighth as to require *extraordinary re-"medies*; and that, if it were put under the "inſpection of ſome diſcreet and judicious "perſon, it would be far more beneficial to "the publick."

I agree to it, anſwered he, upon one condition, *viz.* That there may be likewiſe *an inſpector for* THE PEOPLE, as well as one for the *court*; but if *nothing* is to be licenſed on one ſide, and *every thing* on the other, it would be vaſtly better for us to adopt the Eaſtern policy, and allow *no printing here at all*, than to leave it under *ſuch a partial direction.*

LETTER XLIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE ſame gentleman, who, as I told thee in my laſt, argued ſo ſtrongly for the liberty of the preſs, went on with his diſcourſe in the following manner.

If we have ſo much reaſon to be unwilling that what we *print* ſhould be under the *inſpection* of the court; how much more may we complain of a new power aſſumed within theſe laſt fifty years by all the courts in Europe, of *inſpecting private letters*, and invading the *liberty of the poſt?* The ſecrecy and ſafety of correſpondence is a point of ſuch conſequence to mankind, that the leaſt interruption of it would be criminal, without an evident *neceſſity*; but that of courſe, from one year to another, there ſhould be a conſtant breach of it publickly avowed, is ſuch a violation of the rights of ſociety, as one cannot but wonder at *even in this age.*

You may well wonder, ſaid I to him, when I myſelf am quite amazed to hear of ſuch a thing; the like of which was never practiſed among *us*, whom you Engliſh reproach with being *ſlaves.* But I beg you to inform me what it was, that could induce a free people to give up all the ſecrets of their buſineſs and private thoughts, to the curioſity and

and diſcretion of a miniſter, or his inferior tools in office?

They never gave them up, anſwered he; but thoſe gentlemen have exerciſed this power by their own authority, under pretence of diſcovering plots againſt the ſtate.—No doubt, ſaid one of the company, it is a great advantage and eaſe to the government, to be acquainted at all times with the ſentiments of conſiderable perſons, becauſe it is poſſible they may have ſome ill intent.—It is very true, replied the other; and it might be ſtill a *greater* eaſe and advantage to the government to have a *licenſed ſpy* in every houſe, who ſhould report the moſt private converſations, and let the miniſter thoroughly into the ſecrets of every family in the kingdom. This would effectually detect and prevent conſpiracies; but would any body come into it on that account?

Is it not making a bad compliment to a government, to ſuppoſe that it could not be ſecured without ſuch meaſures as are inconſiſtent with the end for which it is deſigned?

But ſuch, in general, is the wretched turn of modern policy: the moſt ſacred ties of ſociety are often infringed, to promote ſome preſent intereſt, without conſidering how fatal it may prove in its remoter conſequences, and how greatly we may want thoſe uſeful barriers we have ſo lightly broken down.

LETTER L.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I HAD lately the pleaſure of ſeeing a ſight which filled my mind beyond all the magnificence that our Eaſtern monarchs can ſhew; I ſaw a Britiſh *fleet* under full ſail. Nothing can be imagined more pompous, or more auguſt! The vaſt ſize of the ſhips, and the ſkill of the ſailors, exceed any others now in the univerſe; nor are they leſs renowned for their intrepidity. The whole ſpectacle gave me the higheſt ideas of the ſtrength of this nation; a ſtrength not confined to their own coaſts, but equally formidable to the moſt diſtant parts of the globe.

Were I a king of England, I would never receive an embaſſador with any ſolemnity but in the cabin of a *firſt-rate man of war*. There is the true ſeat of his empire; and from *that throne* he might awe the whole world, if he underſtood how to exert his *maritime power* in its full ſtrength, and was wiſe enough to aim at *no other*. But, by an unaccountable miſtake in their policy, many kings of England have ſeemed to forget that their dominions had the advantage of being an *iſland:* they have been as deeply engaged in the affairs of the *continent* as the moſt *expoſed* of the ſtates there, and neglected

neglected the ſea, to give all their attention to expenſive and ruinous wars undertaken at land. Nay, what is ſtranger ſtill, they have been fond of *acquiſitions* made upon the continent; not conſidering that all *ſuch acquiſitions*, inſtead of encreaſing their real ſtrength, are only ſo many *weak* and *vulnerable* parts, in which they are liable to be hurt by thoſe enemies who could not poſſibly hurt them in their natural ſtate, as the ſovereigns of a powerful iſland. Their caſe is the reverſe of that expreſſed by the poets of Greece in the fable of Antæus. He was (ſay thoſe poets) *the ſon of the earth*; and as long as he fought upon her ſurface, even Hercules, the ſtrongeſt of heroes, could not overcome him; but being drawn from thence he was eaſily vanquiſhed: the Engliſh (in the ſame poetical ſtyle) are *the ſons of the ſea*, and while they *adhere to their mother* they are invincible; but if they can once be drawn *out of that ſituation*, their ſtrength forſakes them, and they are not only in danger of being *cruſhed* by their *enemies*, but may be *hugged to death* even by their *friends*

LETTER LI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I AM returned to this city, from which I have made a long excurſion, and am going to give thee an account how I have paſſed my time. A friend of mine, who lives in a part of England diſtant from the capital, invited me to ſpend the ſummer at his houſe: my curioſity to ſee ſomething new, and a natural love to fields and groves at this ſeaſon of the year, made me glad to accept of his propoſal.

The firſt thing that ſtruck me in leaving London was, to find all the country cultivated like one great garden. This is the genuine effect of that happy liberty which the Engliſh enjoy: where property is ſecure, induſtry will exert itſelf; and ſuch is the force of induſtry, that, without any particular advantages of ſoil or climate, the lands about this city are of a hundred times greater profit to their owners, than the beſt-tempered and moſt fertile ſpots of Aſia to the ſubjects of the Sophi or the Turk.

Another circumſtance, which engaged my attention throughout all my journey, was the vaſt number of fine ſeats that adorned the way as I travelled along, and ſeemed to expreſs a certain *rural greatneſs* extremely becoming a free

free people. It looked to me, as if men who were poſſeſſed of ſuch magnificent retreats were above depending on a court, and had wiſely fixed the ſcene of their pride and pleaſure in the centre of their own eſtates, where they could really make themſelves moſt conſiderable. And, indeed, this notion is true in fact; for it has always been the policy of princes that wanted to be abſolute, to draw gentlemen away from their country-ſeats, and place them about a court, as well to deprive them of the popularity which hoſpitality might acquire, as to render them cold to the intereſt of the country, and wholly devoted to themſelves. Thus we have often been told by our friend Uſbec, that the court and capital of France is crowded with nobility, while in the provinces there is ſcarce a manſion-houſe that is not falling to ruin; an infallible ſign of the decay and downfall of the nobility itſelf! Thoſe who remember what England was forty years ago, ſpeak with much uneaſineſs of the change they obſerve in this particular; and complain, that their countrymen are making haſte to copy the French, by abandoning their family ſeats, and living too conſtantly in town; but this is not yet ſenſible to a foreigner.

Thou mayſt expect the ſequel of my journey in other letters.

LET-

LETTER LII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

IT happened when I set out from London, that the parliament, which had set seven years, was just dissolved, and elections for a new one were carrying on all over England. My first day's stage had nothing in it remarkable, more than what I observed to thee in my last. But when I came to the town where I was to lodge, I found the streets all crowded with men and women, who gave me a lively idea of what I have read of the antient Bacchanals. Instead of ivy, they carried oaken boughs, were exceeding drunk and mutinous, but, at the same time, mighty zealous for religion. My Persian habit drew them all about me, and I found they were much puzzled what to make of me. Some said, I was a German minister, sent by the court to corrupt the electors; upon which suggestion, I had like to have been torn to pieces; others fancied me a Jesuit: but at last they agreed I was a *mountebank*; and as such, conducted me to my inn with great respect. When I was safely delivered from this danger, I took a resolution to lay aside my foreign dress, that I might travel with less disturbance; and fell into discourse upon what had passed

paſſed with a gentleman that accompanied me in my journey. It ſeemed to me very ſtrange, that, in an affair of ſo great importance as the choice of a guardian for their liberties, men ſhould drink themſelves out of their reaſon. I aſked, whether riots of this kind were common at theſe times? He anſwered, that the whole buſineſs of the candidates was, to pervert and confound the underſtandings of thoſe that chuſe them, by all imaginable ways: that, from the day they began to make their intereſt, there was nothing but idleneſs and debauchery among the common people: the care of their families is neglected; trades and manufactures are at a ſtand; and ſuch a habit of diſorder is brought upon them, that it requires the beſt part of *ſeven* years to ſettle them again. And yet, continued he, this evil, great as it is, may be reckoned one of the *leaſt* attending theſe affairs. Could we bring our electors to content themſelves with being made drunk for a year together, we might hope to preſerve our conſtitution; but it is the *ſober*, *conſiderate corruption*, the cool bargaining for a ſale of their liberties, that will be the certain undoing of this nation, whenever a wicked miniſter ſhall be the purchaſer.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

THE next day brought us into a county town, where the election for the city and the ſhire were carrying on together. It was with ſome difficulty that we made our way through two or three mobs of different parties, that obliged us by turns to declare ourſelves for their reſpective factions. Some of them wore in their hats tobacco leaves, and ſeemed principally concerned for the honour of that noble plant, which they ſaid had been attacked by the miniſtry; and in this I heartily joined with them, being myſelf a great admirer of its virtues, like moſt of my countrymen. When we came to our inn, I entertained myſelf with aſking my fellow-traveller queſtions about elections. The thing was ſo new to me, that in many points I could not believe him. As for inſtance, it ſeems very odd, that a corporation ſhould take ſuch a ſudden liking to a man's face, whom they never ſaw before, as to prefer him to a family that had ſerved them time out of mind; yet this, I was aſſured, very often happened, and, what was ſtranger ſtill, on the recommendation of another perſon, who was no better known to them than himſelf. My inſtructor

added, That there was in England ONE MAN ſo extremely *popular*, *though he never affected popularity*, that a line from him, accompanied with two or three bits of a particular ſort of paper, was enough to direct half the nation in the choice of their repreſentatives.

It would be endleſs to repeat to thee all the tricks which he told me other gentlemen were forced to uſe, to get themſelves elected. One way of being well with a corporation (which a Perſian would hardly conceive) is to *kiſs* all their *wives*. My companion confeſſed to me, that he himſelf had formerly been obliged to go through this laborious ſolicitation, and had met with ſome old women in his way, who made him pay dear for their intereſt. But theſe methods (ſaid he) and other arts of popularity are growing out of faſhion every day. We now court our electors, as we do our miſtreſſes, by ſending a notary to them with a propoſal: if they like the ſettlement, it is no matter how they like the man that makes it; but if we diſagree about *that*, other pretenſions are of very little uſe. And to make the compariſon the juſter, the members thus choſen have no more regard to their venal conſtituents, than huſbands ſo married to their wives. I aſked, if they had no laws againſt corruption. Yes, ſaid he, very ſtrong ones; but corruption is ſtronger than the laws. If the magiſtrates in Perſia were to ſell wine, it would ſignify very little that your law forbids the drinking it. How is it poſſible, ſaid

ſaid I, to bribe a whole nation to the undoing itſelf? It is not poſſible, anſwered he; but the misfortune of our government is, that the majority of the repreſentative body is choſen, not by the whole nation, but by a *ſmall* and *very mean part of it*. There are a number of boroughs, which have at preſent no other *trade* than *ſending members to parliament*, and whoſe inhabitants think the right of *ſelling themſelves and their country* the only valuable privilege of Engliſhmen. Time has produced this evil, which was quite unforeſeen in the original frame of our conſtitution; and time alone can furniſh occaſions and means of applying an adequate remedy. Before it can be thoroughly cured, one of two very unlikely things muſt come to paſs: either a court muſt be ſo diſintereſted as to exert all its power for the redreſſing an evil advantageous to itſelf; or a popular party, ſo ſtrong as to give laws to the court, muſt have virtue enough to venture *diſguſting the people*, as well as *offending the crown*, for the ſake of *reforming the* CONSTITUTION.

LET-

LETTER LIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

ON the third day our travels were at an end, and I arrived at my friend's houſe with all the pleaſure which we receive from retirement and repoſe, after a life of tumult and fatigue. I was as weary of elections, as if I had been a candidate myſelf; and could not help expreſſing my ſurprize, that the general diſorder on theſe occaſions had not brought ſome fatal miſchief upon the nation.—That we are not undone by it, replied my friend, is entirely owing to the happy circumſtance of our being an iſland. Were we ſeated on the continent, every election of a new parliament would infallibly draw on an invaſion.—It is not only from enemies abroad that you are in danger, anſwered I: one would think that the violence of domeſtick feuds ſhould of itſelf overturn your conſtitution, as it has ſo many others; and how you have been able to eſcape ſo long, is the wonder of all who have been bred up under abſolute monarchies: for they are taught, that the ſuperior advantage of their form of government conſiſts in the ſtrength of union; and that in other ſtates, where power is more divided, a pernicious confuſion muſt enſue.

They argue rightly enough, ſaid the gentleman who came along with me; but they carry the argument too far. No doubt, factions are the natural inconveniences of all free governments, as oppreſſion is too apt to attend on arbitrary power. But the difference lies here, that in an abſolute monarchy, a tyrant has nothing to reſtrain him; whereas parties are not only a controul on thoſe that govern, but on each other; nay, they are even a controul *upon themſelves*, as the leaders of them dare not give a looſe to their own particular paſſions and deſigns, for fear of hurting their credit with thoſe whom it is their intereſt to manage and pleaſe: beſides that it is eaſier to infect a prince with a ſpirit of tyranny, than a nation with a ſpirit of faction; and where the diſcontent is not general, the miſchief will be light. To engage a whole people in a revolt, the higheſt provocations muſt be given; in ſuch a caſe, the diſorder is not chargeable on thoſe that defend their liberties, but on the aggreſſor that invades them. Parties in ſociety are like tempeſts in the natural world: they cauſe indeed a very great diſturbance, and, when violent, tear up every thing that oppoſes them; but then they purge away many noxious qualities, and prevent a ſtagnation which would be fatal: all nations that live in a quiet ſlavery, may be properly ſaid to ſtagnate; and happy would it be for them if they were rouzed and put in

motion

motion by that ſpirit of faction they dread ſo much; for, let the conſequences of reſiſtance be what they would, they can produce nothing worſe than a confirmed and eſtabliſhed ſervitude: but generally ſuch a ferment in a nation throws off what is moſt oppreſſive to it, and ſettles by degrees into a better and more eligible ſtate. Of this we have received abundant proof; for there is hardly a privilege belonging to us, which has not been gained by popular diſcontent, and preſerved by frequent oppoſition. I may add, that we have known many inſtances, where parties, though ever ſo inflamed againſt each other, have united, from a ſenſe of common danger, and joined in ſecuring their common happineſs. And this is more eaſily done, when the points that were once the great ſubjects of heat and diviſion are either worn out by time, or changed by the clearer and more temperate medium through which they are ſeen: for in that caſe, parties, which thought that they ſtood at a very great diſtance from one another, may find themſelves brought very near; and the only *ſeparation* remaining would be the *eſſential* and *everlaſting* one, between *honeſt men* and *knaves*, *wiſe men* and *fools*. That this may happen, experience ſhews; and this, I think, ought to free us from the reproach of ſacrificing our country to our diviſions; and make thoſe deſpair of ſucceſs, that *hope by dividing to deſtroy us*.

LETTER LV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

FOR the firſt month of my being in the country, we did nothing, from morning till night, but diſpute about the government. The natural beauties round about us were little attended to, ſo much were we taken up with our enquiries into political defects. My two companions diſagreed in many points; though I am perſuaded they both meant the ſame thing, and were almoſt equally good ſubjects and good citizens. I ſometimes fancied that I had learnt a great deal in theſe debates; but, when I came to put my learning together, I found myſelf not much wiſer than before. The maſter of the houſe was inclined to the ſide of the court, not from any intereſted or ambitious views; but, as he ſaid, from a principle of *whiggiſm*. This word is one of thoſe diſtinctions, which, for little leſs than a century, have divided and perplexed this nation. The oppoſite party are called *tories*. They have as ſtrong an antipathy to each other, as the followers of Hali to thoſe of Oſman. I deſired my friend to give me ſome certain mark by which I might know one from the other. The *whigs*, ſaid he, are they that are *now in place*; and the *tories*, are they that are *out*. I underſtand you,

you, returned I: the difference is only *there*; ſo that if they who are now *tories* were *employed*, they would inſtantly become *whigs*; and if the *whigs* were removed, they would be *tories*. Not ſo, anſwered he with ſome warmth: there is a great difference in their principles and their conduct. Ay, ſaid I, let me hear that, and then I ſhall be able to chuſe my party. The *tories*, ſaid he, are for *advancing* the *power* of the *crown*, and making the *clergy* the tools of their ambition. When they were in power, they *weakened* our ancient allies, *diſgraced* our *arms*, *hurt* our *trade*, *loſt* our *honour*, and were *aſſiſtant* to the greatneſs of France.

You ſurprize me! replied I; for I have heard *all this* imputed to *ſome*, who you aſſure me are *good whigs*; nay, the very *pillars of whiggiſm*.

I will explain that matter to you immediately, ſaid the gentleman that came down with me. Whiggiſm is an *indelible character*, like *epiſcopacy*: for as he who has once been a *biſhop*, though he no longer perform any of the offices and duties of his function, *is a biſhop* nevertheleſs; ſo he who has once been a whig, let him act never ſo contrary to his principles, *is* nevertheleſs *a whig*; and as all true churchmen are obliged in conſcience to *acknowledge* the firſt, ſo all true whigs are in duty bound to *ſupport* the laſt.

Very well, ſaid I; but are there none who differ from this *orthodox belief?* Yes, ſaid he,

certain obſtinate people; but, like other *diſſenters*, they are puniſhed for *their ſeparation*, by being excluded from *all places of truſt and profit*.

A heavy puniſhment, indeed! anſwered I, and more likely *to diminiſh the ſect* than any other kind of perſecution. But if you will allow a ſtranger to give any advice in your affairs, I think you ſhould pull down at once theſe *enſigns of party*, which are, indeed, *falſe colours* hung out by *faction*; and ſet up, inſtead of them, *one national ſtandard*, which all who leave, by whatever name they may call themſelves, ſhould be conſidered and uſed as *deſerters*.

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LETTER LVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I Went with my country friend, ſome days ago, to make a viſit in a neighbouring county, to the prelate of that dioceſe. His character is ſo extraordinary, that not to give it to thee, would be departing from the rule I have laid down, to let nothing that is *ſingular* eſcape my notice. In the firſt place, he *reſides* conſtantly on his dioceſe, and has done ſo for many years: he aſks nothing of the court for himſelf or family: he hoards up no wealth for his relations; but lays out the revenues of his ſee in a decent hoſpitality, and a charity void of oſtentation. At his firſt entrance into the world, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a conſiderable ſhare in bringing on the Revolution that preſerved it. His principles never altered by his preferment: he never proſtituted his pen, nor debaſed his character, by party diſputes or blind compliance. Though he is warmly ſerious in the belief of his religion, he is moderate to all who differ from him: he knows no diſtinction of party, but extends his good offices alike to whig and tory; a friend to virtue under any denomination; an enemy

to vice under any colours. His health and old age are the effects of a temperate life and a quiet conſcience: though he is now ſome years above fourſcore, nobody ever thought he lived too long, unleſs it was out of an impatience *to ſucceed him.*

This excellent perſon entertained me with the greateſt humanity, and ſeemed to take a particular delight in being uſeful and inſtructive to a ſtranger. To tell thee the truth, Mirza, I was ſo affected with the piety and virtue of this teacher *; the Chriſtian religion appeared to me ſo amiable in his character and manners; that, if the force of education had not rooted Mahometiſm in my heart, he would certainly have made a convert of me.

* The tranſlator ſuppoſes, that the author means Dr. John Hough, biſhop of Worceſter. [This venerable prelate died March 8, 1743, aged ninety-three; having been a biſhop almoſt fifty-three years.]

LETTER LVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

MY long ſtay in the country gave me leiſure to read a good deal: I applied myſelf to hiſtory, particularly that of England; for rightly to underſtand what a nation *is*, one ſhould previouſly learn what it *has been*. If I complained of the different accounts which are given by the Engliſh of themſelves in their preſent circumſtances, I have no leſs reaſon to complain of their hiſtorians: paſt tranſactions are ſo variouſly related, and with ſuch a mixture of prejudice on both ſides, that it is as hard to know truth from their relations, as religion from the comments of divines. The great article in which they differ moſt, is the ancient power of the crown, and that of the parliament: according to ſome, the latter is no more than an incroachment on the former; but according to others, it is as old as the monarchy itſelf.

This point is debated with great warmth, and a multitude of proofs alledged by either party; yet the importance of the controverſy is not ſo great as ſome may conceive it. For many hundred years, the point is out of

diſpute; but ſuppoſe it were otherwiſe, would it follow from thence, that the parliamentary powers are uſurpations? No, Mirza, no; if liberty were but a year old, the Engliſh would have juſt as good a right to claim and to preſerve it, as if it had been handed down to them from many ages: for, allowing that their anceſtors were ſlaves through weakneſs or want of ſpirit, is *ſlavery* ſo *valuable an inheritance* that it never muſt be parted with? is a long preſcription neceſſary, to give force to the natural rights of mankind? If the privileges of the people of England be *conceſſions* from the crown, is not the power of the crown itſelf a *conceſſion* from the people? However, it muſt be confeſt, that though a long poſſeſſion of abſolute power can give no right to continue it againſt the natural claim of the people in behalf of their liberties, whenever that claim ſhall be made; yet a long poſſeſſion of freedom ſerves to eſtabliſh and ſtrengthen original right, or, at leaſt, makes it more ſhameful to give it up. I will therefore ſketch out to thee, as ſhort as I can, in my next letters, the reſult of what I have read, and what I have thought on this ſubject, not with the minute exactneſs of a political critick, who of all criticks would tire thee moſt, but by ſuch a general view of the ſeveral changes this government has undergone, as may ſet the true ſtate of it pretty clearly before thee.

thee. Further than this it would be almoſt impoſſible for a ſtranger to go upon that ſubject, or for one ſo diſtant as thou art either to receive or deſire information: nor, indeed, were it more feaſible, ſhould I think it of uſe, to engage in a much larger detail. It is with enquiries into the conſtitutions of nations, as with enquiries into the conſtitution of the univerſe; thoſe who are moſt nicely curious about particular and trifling parts, are often thoſe who ſee leaſt of the whole.

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LETTER LVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

IT has been an uſual piece of vanity in the writers of every nation, to repreſent the original conſtitutions of their reſpective ſtates, as founded on deep-laid ſyſtems and plans of policy, in which they imagine that they diſcover the utmoſt refinements of human wiſdom; whereas, in truth, they are often the effects or downright chance, and produced by the force of certain circumſtances, or the ſimple dictates of nature itſelf, out of a regard to ſome preſent expediency, and with little providence to the future.

Such was the original of the celebrated Gothick government, that was formerly ſpread all over Europe. It was produced, not in a cabinet, but a camp; and owes much leſs to the prudence of a legiſlator, than to the neceſſity of the times which gave it birth.

The people that introduced it into Britain, and every where elſe, were a multitude of ſoldiers, unacquainted with any thing but war: their leader, for the better carrying it on, was inveſted with a ſort of regal power; and when it happened that the war continued long, he acquired a preſcriptive autho-

rity over thoſe who had been accuſtomed to obey his orders; but this authority was directed by the advice of the other officers, and dependant on the good liking of the army, from which alone it was derived: in like manner, the firſt revenues of this leader were nothing more than a title to a larger ſhare in the common booty, or the voluntary contributions of the ſoldiers out of the wealth acquired under his command: but had he attempted to take a horſe or cow, or any part of the plunder, from the meaneſt ſoldier, without his free conſent, a mutiny would certainly have enſued, and the violation of property been revenged. From theſe principles, we may naturally draw the whole form of the Saxon or Gothick government. When theſe invaders became maſters of kingdoms, and not only ravaged them, but ſettled there, the general was changed into a king, the officers into nobles, the council of war into a council of ſtate, and the body of the ſoldiery itſelf into a general aſſembly of all the freemen. A principal ſhare of the conqueſts, as it had been of the ſpoils, was freely allotted to the prince, and the reſt by him diſtributed according to rank and merit among his troops and followers, under certain conditions agreeable to the Saxon cuſtoms. Hence the different tenures, and the ſervices founded upon them; hence the vaſſalage, or rather ſervitude, of the conquered, who were obliged to till the lands which they

they had loſt, for the conquerors who had gained them, or at beſt to hold them of thoſe new proprietors on ſuch hard and ſlaviſh terms as they thought fit to impoſe. Hence likewiſe the riches of the clergy, and their early authority in the ſtate: for thoſe people, being ignorant and ſuperſtitious in the ſame degree, and heated with the zeal of a new converſion, thought they could not do too much for their teachers, but, with a conſiderable ſhare of the conquered lands, admitted them to a large participation of dominion itſelf. Thus, without any ſettled deſign, or ſpeculative ſkill, this conſtitution in a manner formed itſelf; and it was *the better* for that reaſon, as there was more of nature in it, and little of *political myſtery*, which, wherever it prevails, is the bane of publick good. A government ſo eſtabliſhed could admit of no pretence of a *power* in the king *tranſcendent to law*, or an *unalterable right* in the ſucceſſion. It could never come into the heads of ſuch a people, that they were to ſubmit to a *tyranny* for *conſcience ſake*; or, that their liberties were not every way as *ſacred* as the prerogative of their prince. They could never be brought to underſtand, that there was ſuch a thing as *reaſon of ſtate* diſtinct from the common reaſon of mankind; much leſs would they allow pernicious meaſures to paſs unqueſtioned, or unpuniſhed, under the ridiculous ſanction of that name.

LETTER LIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I GAVE thee in my laſt a ſhort account of the firſt riſe and conſtruction of the Saxon government, on very plain and ſimple foundations. It was, perhaps, the *moſt free* of all the limited monarchies that have been known in the world. The nobles and people had ſuch a ſhare in the legiſlature, and ſuch a weight in the government, that the king could do nothing but with their aſſiſtance, and by their advice. He could not oppreſs them by force, becauſe they were *armed* and he *was not*, unleſs when they employed *their arms* in his ſervice for the defence of the kingdom. He could not corrupt them; for all offices of power or judicature were then *elective*, the eſtate of the crown was held inalienable, and only ſufficed to maintain the expence of the royal houſehold and civil government. No cauſes were tried but by juries, even in ſpiritual matters; ſo that the lives and properties of the people could not be touched *without their own co-operation*, either by the king, the nobles, or clergy. To all this was joined the beſt *police* that any nation ever enjoyed, except the Chineſe, among whom many of the ſame regulations have

have been eſtabliſhed with a *conformity* very *ſurprizing*, as it is certain that neither copied the other. Such was the Saxon conſtitution, when by the wiſdom and virtue of two or three great kings it had received its final perfection. The only eſſential defect of it was, the *exceſſive immunities* granted to churchmen, which made them too independent upon the civil authority, and very burthenſome to the ſtate. This form of government continued unaltered in its principal parts, till the Norman invaſion, which, like a foreign weight roughly laid upon the ſprings, diſturbed and obſtructed its proper motions: yet, by degrees, it recovered itſelf again; and, how ill ſoever the Saxon *people* might be treated, under the notion of a *conqueſt*, the Saxon *conſtitution* was never wholly ſubdued. The new comers reliſhed ſlavery no better than the old inhabitants; and gladly joined with them, upon a ſenſe of mutual intereſt, to force a confirmation of their freedom and the ancient laws. Indeed there was ſo great a conformity between the government of Normandy and that of England, the cuſtoms of both nations were ſo much the ſame, that, unleſs the Normans by conquering this iſland had loſt their original rights, and fought on purpoſe to degrade themſelves and their poſterity, it was impoſſible their kings could have a right to abſolute power. So far was that nation from owning any ſuch right, that,

that, in conjunction with the Engliſh, they demanded and obtained of their kings *charters* declaring their liberties, not as *grants* derived from the *favour*, or *innovations* forced from the *weakneſs*, but as *acknowledgements* due from the *juſtice*, *of the crown*. As ſuch the beſt and greateſt princes conſidered thoſe charters; as ſuch they confirmed and obſerved them: and when they were diſputed, or broken by others of a different character, civil wars enſued, which ended to the diſadvantage of the crown. But the misfortune was, that, in all theſe ſtruggles, the *biſhops* and *nobles treated for the people*, not the people *for themſelves*; and therefore their intereſts were much neglected, and the advantages gained from the king were much more beneficial to the church and nobility than to thoſe who were under their patronage.

I will ſay more on this head when I write next.

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LETTER LX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THOU wilt be ſurprized to hear that the period when the Engliſh nation enjoyed the greateſt happineſs, after the Norman invaſion, was under the influence of *a woman*. As much as we Perſians ſhould deſpiſe a female ruler, it was not till the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the government came to *an equal balance*, which is its true ſtate of perfection.

Though the commons of England had regained, *by degrees*, and *in a different ſhape*, that ſhare of the legiſlature, which was in a great meaſure loſt by them under the firſt Norman kings, yet their power was not ſo great as it had been in the Saxon witenagemote, or general aſſembly, nor their condition ſo happy in many reſpects; for the chief ſtrength of the government reſided in the great lords and the clergy, who ſupremely directed all publick affairs. The proceedings of the commons could not be free in their *repreſentative body*, while in their *collective body* they were weak and oppreſt. The laws of vaſſalage, the authority of the church, the poverty and dependancy in which they lived, hung heavy upon them; ſo that they were

were obliged to act in ſubſerviency to the nobles and biſhops, even when they ſhewed moſt vigour againſt the crown, following the paſſions of both upon many occaſions in the parliament and in the field, and making or unmaking kings as *theſe their immediate maſters* deſired. But, in return for their ſervices, they often obtained a redreſs of their grievances, revenged themſelves upon bad miniſters, and obtained good laws for the commonwealth. To whatever purpoſes their ſtrength might be uſed, though to the purpoſes of faction, *by being uſed it increaſed.* The crown at laſt *itſelf* aſſiſted the growth of it, in oppoſition to that of the church and the nobility. The bonds of vaſſalage were broke or lightened; the barons were by different laws encouraged and enabled to part with their lands; the weight of property was transferred to the ſide of the people. Many accidents concurred to the ſame effect. A reformation in religion was begun, by which that mighty fabrick of church power, erected on the ruins of publick liberty, and adorned with the ſpoils of the crown itſelf, was happily attacked and overturned. A great part of the immenſe poſſeſſions of the clergy was taken away, and moſt of it ſold to the commons upon eaſy terms. They had now a very conſiderable ſhare of the lands of England, and a ſtill greater treaſure in their commerce, which they were beginning to extend and

improve. Their riches ſecured their independency; the clergy feared them, and the nobles could not hurt them. In this ſtate queen *Elizabeth* found *the parliament*: the lords and commons were nigh upon a level, and the church in a decent ſubordination. She was the head of this well-proportioned body, and ſupremely directed all its motions. Thus, what in mixed forms of government ſeldom happens, there was no conteſt for power in the legiſlature; becauſe no part was ſo high as to be uncontrouled, or ſo low as to be oppreſt. A reformation of religion was compleatly eſtabliſhed by this excellent princeſs; which entirely reſcued the nation from that *foreign yoke* the pope had impoſed upon it for ſo many centuries, and from the dominion of ſuperſtition, *the worſt of all ſlavery*. The next great benefits that ſhe conferred upon her ſubjects, were the extenſion of commerce into all parts of the world, and the foundation of their *maritime power*, which is *their true, natural greatneſs*. Under her it began; and ſhe lived to carry it to ſuch a heighth, as to make them really *lords of the ſea*, an empire more glorious than that of the ſophi our maſter, and *richer* than that of the mogul. In doing this, ſhe did more for England than her greateſt predeceſſors had ever done; far more than thoſe who conquered France, though they could have ſecured it to their poſterity. Theſe were the *arts* by which ſhe ruled, and by

theſe

theſe ſhe was able to preſerve her authority; nay, and to extend it further upon certain occaſions than very abſolute princes could do, even while ſhe aſſiſted her people in the corroborating and confirming their liberty. The ſtrength of *her power* was *their ſatisfaction*; and every other happineſs followed *that*, as every misfortune and diſgrace is ſure to attend on their diſcontent.

LETTER LXI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

I ENDED my laſt letter with the felicity of Elizabeth's reign. Very different was that of her ſucceſſor James the Firſt: for his character and conduct were the reverſe of hers. He endeavoured to break the balance of the government, by her ſo wiſely fixed; and wanted to be *greater* than *her*, without one quality that could render him capable of filling her place. He had neither courage, ability, nor addreſs: he was contemned both at home and abroad; his very favourites did not love him, though he was governed by them in every thing; nor did they maintain their dominion by his affections ſo much as by his fears. Yet this *meaneſt of kings* made great advances towards *abſolute power*; and would have compleatly obtained it, if he could have found means to have introduced the *ſame luxury* into the *nation* as he did into the *court*, with, the conſtant attendant of luxury, the *ſame corruption*. But the virtue infuſed by Elizabeth into the maſs of the people, and the indigence of the crown, ſtopt the contagion from ſpreading ſo far: the commons reſiſted it, though the lords and the biſhops did not; and ſome check was given

given to the deſigns of the king, yet not enough for the ſecuring of liberty, or preventing the evils *his conduct* prepared for the following reign. The clergy, whom he attached to his intereſts by favouring theirs, or what they took to be theirs, more than a *wiſe* prince *would*, or a *good* prince *ought* to have done, were very aſſiſtant to him, by preaching up notions which he and they ſeem to have borrowed from *our religion*, of a right divine in kings, neither derived from human laws, nor to be limited by them; and other ſuch Mahometan tenets, that had never been heard of before in this country: yet there were many who diſliked theſe innovations, and their oppoſition hindered them from taking deep root in any minds but thoſe of the royal family. Theſe obſtinate proteſtants and patriots were branded with the name of Puritans, and much hated by James, and Charles his ſon, who, upon the deceaſe of the former, ſucceeded to his kingdoms, his notions, and his deſigns.

He had many better qualifications than his father, but as wrong a judgement, and greater obſtinacy. He carried his affection for the clergy, and abhorrence of the Puritans, to an exceſs of bigotry and rage. He agreed ſo ill with his parliaments, that he ſoon grew weary of them, and reſolved to be troubled with no more; none were called for twelve years together, and all that time he governed as deſpotically as the ſophi of Perſia. The

laws were either openly infringed, or explained in the manner he directed: he levied money upon his ſubjects againſt privileges expreſsly confirmed by himſelf. In ſhort, his paſſion for power might have been fully gratified, if his more prevailing one to bigotry had not engaged him in a ſenſeleſs undertaking, of forcing the ſame form of worſhip upon his ſubjects in Scotland, as he had declared himſelf ſo warmly for in England. It is ſafer to attack men in their civil rights, than their religious opinions: the Scots, who had acquieſced under tyranny, took up arms againſt perſecution. Their inſurrection made it neceſſary to call a parliament; it met, but was inſtantly diſſolved by the intemperate folly of the court. All hopes of better meaſures were put an end to by this laſt provocation. The Scots marched into England, and were received by the Engliſh, not as enemies, but as brothers and allies: the king, unable to oppoſe them, was compelled to aſk the aid of another parliament. A parliament met, exaſperated with the oppreſſions of fifteen years: the principal members were men of the greateſt capacity, courage, and virtue, firmly united among themſelves, and whom the court could neither *corrupt* nor *intimidate*. They reſolved to make uſe of the opportunity, to *redreſs* their *grievances*, and *ſecure* their *liberty*; the king granted every thing that was neceſſary to either of thoſe ends, except ſuch *ſecurities* as might

might have been turned *againſt himſelf:* but what, perhaps, was really *conceſſion*, had the appearance of *conſtraint*, and therefore gained neither *gratitude* nor *confidence:* the nation could no longer truſt the king; or, if it might, *particular men* could not; and the ſupport of thoſe particular men was become a *national concern:* they had expoſed themſelves by ſerving the publick; the publick therefore judged that it was bound in juſtice to defend them. Nor indeed was it poſſible, when the work of reformation was begun, after ſo long a denial of juſtice, to keep a people, ſore with the remembrance of injuries received and ſatisfaction refuſed, within the bounds of a proper moderation. Such a ſobriety is much eaſier in ſpeculation than it ever was in practice. Thus, partly for the ſafety of their leaders, and partly from a jealouſy of his intentions too juſtly conceived, the parliament drew the ſword againſt the king: but the ſword, when drawn, was no longer theirs; it was quickly turned againſt them by thoſe to whoſe hands they truſted it: the honeſteſt and wiſeſt of both parties were out-witted and overpowered by villains; the king periſhed, and the conſtitution periſhed with him.

A private man, whoſe genius was called forth by the troubles of his country, and formed in the exerciſe of faction, uſurped the government. His character was as extraordinary as his fortune: he had an air of en-

thuſiaſm, which gained all thoſe who were real enthuſiaſts (the number of whom was great in thoſe days) and put him at their head. That he was one himſelf in ſome degree may be ſuppoſed, notwithſtanding the prudence with which he conducted all his deſigns; becauſe the ſame ſpark of enthuſiaſm which makes common men *mad*, may, in certain conjunctures, only capacitate others of ſuperior abilities to undertake and perform *extraordinary things*. Whether Cromwell was one of theſe, or acted entirely from political cunning, the times he lived in could not diſcover; and much leſs can the preſent. Thus far is certain, that, by an uncommon appearance of zeal, by great addreſs, and great valour, he firſt *inflamed* the ſpirit of liberty into *extravagance*, and afterwards duped and awed it into *ſubmiſſion*. He trampled on the laws of the nation, but he raiſed the glory of it; and it is hard to ſay which he deſerved moſt, a *halter* or a *crown*.

If the enthuſiaſts of his own party would have permitted him to have taken the title of king as well as the power, it is probable the royalty might have been fixed in his family by a well-modeled and laſting eſtabliſhment. He ſhewed a great deſire to carry that point; and I have heard him compared in this inſtance to Julius Cæſar, a great Roman general, who, like him, having maſtered his country by its own arms, and being poſſeſt of more than the *power of a*

king, was ſo fond of adding the *name* to it, that it coſt him his life. But the two caſes are totally different. What in the Roman was a weak vanity, and below the reſt of his character, was in the Engliſhman ſolid good ſenſe. The one could not take that name without deſtroying *the forms of the Roman conſtitution*; the other could not preſerve *the forms of the Engliſh conſtitution* without taking that name. He therefore did wiſely in ſeeking it; but, not being able to bring his own friends to conſent to it, or to do it againſt their oppoſition, he could make no ſettlement of the government to out-laſt his own life: for it is hardly poſſible, from the nature of things, that a dominion newly acquired ſhould long be maintained in any country, if the ancient forms and names are not kept up. Immediately after the death of this great man, all order was loſt in the ſtate: various tyrannies were ſet up, and deſtroyed each other; but all ſhewed *a republick to be impracticable*. At laſt the nation, growing weary of ſuch wild confuſion, agreed to recall the baniſhed ſon of their murdered king, not for *his ſake*, but *for the ſake of the monarchy*, which all the nation deſired to *reſtore*; and ſo inconſiderate was the zeal of thoſe times, that they reſtored it without any limitations, or any conditions made for the publick. Thus the fruits of a tedious civil war were lightly and careleſsly thrown away

away by too hafty a paffion for repofe. The conftitution revived indeed again, but revived *as fickly as before:* the ill humours, which ought to have been purged away by the violent remedies that had been ufed, continued as prevalent as ever, and naturally broke out in the fame diftempers. The king wanted to fet himfelf above the law; wicked men encouraged this difpofition; and many good men were weak enough to comply with it, out of averfion to thofe principles of refiftance which they had feen fo fatally abufed.

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LETTER LXII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

THE methods purſued by Charles the Second, in the conduct of his government, were in many reſpects different from his father's, though the purpoſe of both was much the ſame. The father always *bullied* his parliaments; the ſon endeavoured to *corrupt* them: the father obſtinately refuſed to change his miniſters, becauſe he really eſteemed them as honeſt men; the ſon very eaſily changed *his*, becauſe he thought they were all *alike* diſhoneſt, and that his deſigns might as well be carried on by one *knave* as by another: the father was a tool of the clergy, and a perſecutor, out of zeal for his religion; the ſon was almoſt indifferent to religion, but ſerved the paſſions of his clergy againſt the diſſenters from motives of policy: the father deſired to be abſolute at home, but to make the nation reſpectable abroad; the ſon aſſiſted the king of France in his invaſions on the liberties of Europe, that, by his help, he might maſter thoſe of England; nay, he was even a penſioner to France, and, by ſo vile a proſtitution of his dignity, ſet an example to the nobility of his realm, to ſell *their honour likewiſe for a penſion*; an example, the

the ill effects of which have been felt too ſenſibly ever ſince.

Yet, with all theſe vices and imperfections in the character of Charles the Second, there was ſomething ſo bewitching in his behaviour, that the charms of it prevailed on many to connive at the faults of his government: and, indeed, nothing can be ſo hurtful to a country, which has liberties to defend, as a prince who knows how at the ſame time to make himſelf *deſpotick* and *agreeable*: this was eminently the talent of Charles the Second; and what is moſt ſurprizing, he poſſeſt it without any great depth of underſtanding.

But the principal inſtrument of his bad intentions, was a general depravity of manners, with which he took pains to infect his court, and they the nation. All virtues, both publick and private, were openly ridiculed; and none were allowed to have any talents for wit or buſineſs, who pretended to any ſenſe of honour, or regard to decency.

The king made great uſe of theſe new notions; and they proved very pernicious to the freedom, as well as morals, of his ſubjects: but an indolence, natural to his temper, was ſome check to his deſigns; and, fond as he was of arbitrary power, he did not purſue it any further than was conſiſtent with his *pleaſure* and *repoſe*.

His brother, who bore a great ſway in his government, had changed his religion abroad,

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as the king himſelf had alſo done: but with this difference, that the latter retained almoſt as little of that which he embraced, as of that which he forſook; whereas the former was a bigot to popery, and known to be ſuch, while the change of the king was a ſecret to moſt of his ſubjects. The fear of a *popiſh ſucceſſor* raiſed great diſcontent, and great diſorders in the nation: the houſe of commons paſſed a bill for excluding that prince from the crown, founded undoubtedly in juſtice and reaſon; but the firmneſs of the king *in that ſingle point*, the complaiſance of the lords, the jealouſy the church entertained of the diſſenters, the ſcruples of thoſe who thought hereditary right *divine* and *indefeaſible*, and, above all, the fear of being involved in a new civil war, which alarmed many well-meaning people, from a mixture of *faction* that had diſcovered itſelf in ſome of *the characters*, and in ſome of *the meaſures*, by which the national cauſe was then carried on, fruſtrated the attempt *to change the ſucceſſion*, as the obſtinacy of thoſe engaged in that attempt did all expedients to *limit the ſucceſſor*. The unhappy advantages all this gave to the king made him a great deal more abſolute in the laſt years of his reign than in all the foregoing ones; and, upon his demiſe, brought his brother in *peace* and *triumph* to the throne. He had not been long ſeated there, before he convinced the moſt attached to his party, that the apprehenſions conceived

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of him, and the design of excluding him, had been too just. All that the spirit of bigotry could add to a temper in itself *harsh* and *violent*, appeared in his government: all that *a weak understanding*, *madly conducted*, could undertake, was undertaken: arbitrary power was the means used, and the end designed was a change of religion. Happy was it for England that this end so plainly declared itself: it rouzed even those whom no danger to *liberty* could have ever alarmed, and taught the preachers of *non-resistance to resist*. A revolution was evidently necessary to save the whole, and that necessity produced one.

King James the Second lost his crown, and the nation gave it to their deliverer the prince of Orange: the government was settled on a firmer foundation, agreeable to the ancient Saxon principles from which it had declined; and, by a *happiness* peculiar to itself, grew *stronger* from the *shocks* it had *sustained*.

LETTER LXIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE firſt advantage gained by the Engliſh nation, in the change of their government, was the utter extinction of thoſe vain and empty phantoms of *hereditary indefeaſible right*, and a power *ſuperior to law*, which king James the Firſt had conjured up, to the great diſturbance and terror of his people.

With James the Second they were expelled; nor can they ever be brought back again with any proſpect of ſucceſs, but by *that family* alone, which *claims from him:* for which reaſon, it will eternally be the intereſt of the people of England, not to ſuffer ſuch a *claim* to prevail; but to maintain an eſtabliſhment, which is founded on the baſis of their liberty, and from which their liberty cannot be ſeparated unleſs the rights of both are deſtroyed.

As the parliament plainly diſpoſed of the crown in altering the ſucceſſion, the princes who have reigned ſince that time could pretend to none but a *parliamentary title*; and the ſame force as the legiſlature could give to that, it alſo gave to the privileges of the ſubject.

The word *loyalty*, which had long been misapplied, recovered its original and proper sense: it was now understood to mean no more than a due obedience to the authority of the king, in conformity to the laws; instead of a bigoted compliance to the will of the king, in opposition to the laws.

How great an advantage this would be, will appear, by reflecting on the mischiefs that have been brought upon *this* country in particular, from the wrong interpretation *of certain names*. But this is not the only benefit that ensued from that happy revolution. The prerogative of the crown had been till then so ill defined, that the full extent of it was rather stopt by the degree of *prudence* in the government, or of *impatience* in the people, than by the letter of the law: nay, it seemed as if in many instances the law allowed a power to the king, entirely destructive to itself. Thus princes had been often made to believe, that what their subjects complained of as oppression, was a legal exercise of the rights of the crown: and no wonder if, in disputable points, they decided the question in favour of their own authority.

But now the bounds of prerogative were marked out by express restrictions; the course of it became regular and fixed; and could no longer move obliquely, to the danger of the general system.

Let me also observe to thee, that whereas before, *to govern by parliaments* was the policy only

only of good and wise princes; after this period, it may be considered in a different light, because all expedients of *governing otherwise* are plainly impracticable, and it may not always imply *a conforming the government to the sense of the people.* I will explain this to thee more distinctly, when I write again. In the mean while, let me a little recall thy thoughts from past events, and the *history of England*, to the remembrance and love of thy faithful Selim, who is not become so much an Englishman as to forget his native Persia; but perpetually sighs for his friends and country, amidst all that engages his attention in a foreign land.

LETTER LXIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE ancient revenues of the kings of England conſiſted chiefly in a large demeſne of lands, and certain rights and powers reſerved to them over the lands held of the crown; by means of which, they ſupported the royal dignity without the immediate aſſiſtance of the people, except upon extraordinary occaſions. But, in proceſs of time, the extravagance of princes and the rapaciouſneſs of favourites having waſted the beſt part of this eſtate, and their ſucceſſors endeavouring to repair it by a tyrannical abuſe of thoſe rights and powers, ſome of them, which were found to be moſt grievous, were bought off by the parliament, with a fixed eſtabliſhment for the maintenance of the houſehold, compoſed of certain taxes yearly raiſed, and appropriated thereto.

But, after the *expulſion of the Stuarts*, the expence of the government being augmented for the defence of the ſucceſſion, the crown was conſtrained to apply to parliament, not only for the maintenance of its houſhold, which was ſettled at the beginning of every reign, and in every reign *conſiderably encreaſed*; not only for extraordinary ſupplies, to which

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end parliaments anciently were called; but for the ordinary ſervice of the year.

Thus a continual dependance on the people became neceſſary to kings; and they were ſo truly the *ſervants* of the publick, that they received the *wages* of it in form, and were obliged to the parliament for the means of exerciſing the royalty, as well as for the right they had to claim it. Nor can this ſalutary dependance ever ceaſe, except the parliament itſelf ſhould give it up, by empowering the king to raiſe money, without *limiting the ſum*, or *ſpecifying the ſervices*. Such conceſſions are abſurd in their own nature; for if a prince is afraid to truſt his people with a power of ſupplying his neceſſities, upon a thorough knowledge of them, the people have no encouragement to truſt their prince, or, to ſpeak more properly, his miniſter, with ſo blind and undetermined an authority.

LETTER LXV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

YOU have ſeen in my laſt, that, from the time of king James's expulſion, annual meetings of parliament were become neceſſary to the carrying on of the government. But that the repreſentatives of the people, from too long a delegation of their authority, might not forget *by whom*, and *for what*, it was given them; and that the people might be enabled to correct a *bad choice*, which experience ſhould prove to be ſuch; it was thought expedient not long after to paſs a law for the chuſing a *new parliament* at the end of every *three years*. This term has been ſince prolonged to *ſeven*, I think for very good reaſons; becauſe the country-intereſt could not ſupport the redoubled expence of conteſting with court-corruption ſo much oftener than now, and there are no good grounds to ſuppoſe that the efforts on that ſide would be much leſs for a triennial than a ſeptennial parliament, a majority in *that* being equally neceſſary to a court as in *this*: ſo that the attacks would be the ſame, or near the ſame, and the reſiſtance much weaker on the ſide of the people. If then the good propoſed by ſhorten-

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ing the term be very uncertain, it muſt be conſidered that very great and certain evils attend upon frequent elections, *viz.* the inflaming of party diviſions, depraving the morals of the people, and many other inconveniences of no little weight. However, this is a point about which I have found the beſt men differ, and which thou wilt therefore conſider as more problematical than others I have mentioned before. I now return to my hiſtory.

Among other advantages gained to liberty at *this its happy reſtoration*, a free exerciſe of their religion was allowed to thoſe who differ from the rites of the Engliſh church; which has been continued and ſecured to them ever ſince, with ſome ſhort interruptions, which even the *party* that cauſed them is now *aſhamed of*. Nor has any thing contributed more than this to the peace and happineſs of the government, by gaining it the affection of all its ſubjects, and taking from the ſpirit of faction a pretence, and a ſtrength, of which it has often made a very bad uſe.

I muſt alſo obſerve to thee, that from this period a different temper has ſhewn itſelf in the *clergy* of England. They are become better friends to liberty, better ſubjects, better Engliſhmen, than they had uſually been either before or ſince the Reformation. Some among them have written in defence of the religious and civil rights of mankind, with as free a ſpirit, and as much force of learning

and argument, as any layman has ever done; a merit peculiar to themſelves, and *to which no other clergy in the whole world can pretend.* The generality of them are now very *moderate, quiet,* and *uſeful members of the commonwealth,* in due ſubmiſſion to the civil authority, and deſiring nothing but, what they deſerve, the *protection of government in the enjoyment of their juſt rights.* They who would deny them *that,* are themſelves *perſecutors, diſturbers of government,* and *very bad members of the commonwealth.*'

This ſucceſſion was facilitated and ſecured by the union of Scotland with England; and Great Britain became infinitely ſtronger, by being undivided, entire, and *wholly an iſland.*

One condition of that union was, the admitting ſixteen Scotch peers, choſen by the whole body of the peerage, into the Engliſh houſe of lords, but upon a tenure very different from the reſt, being to ſit there only for the duration of the parliament, at the end of which a new election muſt be made. If thoſe elections are *free* and *uninfluenced,* this alteration in the Engliſh conſtitution may prove very much to its advantage, becauſe ſuch a number of independent votes will balance *any part of the houſe of peers* over which the court may have obtained too great an influence; but if they ſhould ever be *choſen by corruption,* and have no hopes of *ſitting there again* except by an *unconſtitutional*

dependence

dependence on the favour of a court, then ſuch a number added to the *others* would grievouſly endanger the conſtitution; and the houſe of lords, inſtead of being, as it ought, a *mediating power* between the crown and the people, would become a ſort of *antichamber to the court*, a mere *office* for *executing* and *authorizing* the purpoſes of a *miniſter*.

I have now, my dear Mirza, traced thee out a general plan of the Engliſh conſtitution: and I believe thou wilt agree with me, upon the whole, *that a better can hardly be contrived*; the only misfortune is, that *ſo good a one can hardly be preſerved*.

The great diſtinction between the ancient plan of it and that which has taken place ſince the expulſion of the Stuarts is this, that the firſt was *leſs perfect*, but *better ſecured*, becauſe the nobility and people *had the ſword in their hands*; whereas the laſt is more *regular*, ſubject to *fewer diſorders*, and in the frame of it *more free*, but *ill ſecured*, the ſword being *only in the hands of the king*: to which is added a vaſt encreaſe of the *wealth* of the crown, and a mighty influence gained to it by the debts of the publick, which have brought on new *taxes*, new *powers* for the raiſing thoſe taxes, of a very dangerous nature, and a prodigious multiplication of *officers* wholly dependent upon the court; from all which the court has acquired new means of *corruption*, without any new *effectual* ſecurities againſt that corruption being yet gained

on the ſide of the people. And this ſort of power is ſo much more to be feared than any other, as it cannot be exerciſed without *depraving the morals*, and *debaſing the ſpirit*, of the whole people; which in the end would not only enſlave them, but render their ſervitude *voluntary*, *deſerved*, and *remedileſs*.

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LETTER LXVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

IN former reigns, when parliaments were laid aſide for any length of time, the whole authority of the ſtate was lodged in a privy council, by the advice and direction of which all affairs were carried on. But theſe counſellors, being *choſen* by the king, and *depending* on his favour, were too apt to adviſe ſuch things only as they knew would be moſt agreeable; and thus the intereſts of the nation were often ſacrificed to the profit and expectations of a few particulars. Yet ſtill, as on extraordinary occaſions the king might be forced to call a parliament, the fear of it was ſome check to their proceedings; and a degree of caution was natural to men who foreſaw they ſhould ſooner or later be called to an account. But let us ſuppoſe, that any future prince could wholly *influence the election of a parliament*, and make the members of it *dependent on himſelf*, what would be the difference between *that parliament* and a privy council? would it ſpeak the ſenſe of the nation, or of the court? would the intereſt of the people be conſidered in it, or that of their repreſentatives? They would only differ in this reſpect, that *one*, having no power above it, *might be abſolutely free from all re-*

ſtraint, which, with the terror of a parliament hanging over it, the *other never could*.

This is the only imaginable method, by which the liberty of the Engliſh nation can be attacked with any ſucceſs; but thou wilt aſk, To what end ſhould an attack of this nature be made? Why ſhould a king of England go about to deſtroy a conſtitution, the maintenance of which would render him both great and happy?

I reply, that a king indeed can have no reaſonable inducement to make ſuch an experiment; but a miniſter may find it neceſſary for his own ſupport; and happy would it have been for many countries, if the *maſter's* intereſt had been conſidered by the *ſervant* half ſo warmly as the *ſervant's* by the *maſter*.

If a man who travels through Italy was to aſk, what advantage all the wealth in religious houſes, and all the idolatrous worſhip paid there, are to the ſaints they are dedicated to? The anſwer muſt be, *Of none at all*. But the prieſts, who are really gainers by them, know that they abuſe the people to very good purpoſe; and make uſe of a *venerable name*, not from any regard they have to it, but to raiſe their own greatneſs, ſwell their own pride, and *cover* and *ſecure* their own extortion.

It is only therefore by the weakneſs of princes, the arts of miniſters, and the ſeduction of the people againſt their own intereſts, the conſtitution of England can periſh, and probably will periſh at laſt. This will hap-

pen ſooner or later, as more or leſs care is taken by thoſe whoſe duty it is to watch over it. I am not ignorant that there are ſome viſionary men, who dream of ſchemes to perpetuate it beyond all poſſibility of future change: but I have always thought the ſame of political projects to render a government, as of chemical projects to render a man *immortal*. Such a *grand elixir* cannot be found; and thoſe who would *tamper* with ſtates, in hopes of procuring them that *immortality*, are the moſt unfit to preſcribe to them of all men in the world. But, at the ſame time that I know this, I alſo know, that the date of a government may be *prolonged* by proper and ſalutary remedies, applied by thoſe who underſtand its true nature, and join to ſpeculative wiſdom *experience* and *temper*. Nor ſhould I think it at all a better excuſe for aſſiſting to ruin the conſtitution of my country, that it *muſt come to an end*, and perhaps *begins to decay*, than for joining in the murder of my father, that he *muſt die at laſt*, and *begins to grow old*.

LETTER LXVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE other morning, a friend of mine came to me, and told me, with the air of one who brings an agreeable piece of news, that there was a lady who moſt paſſionately deſired the pleaſure of my acquaintance, and had commiſſioned him to carry me to ſee her.—I will not deny to thee, that my vanity was a little flattered with this meſſage: I fancied ſhe had ſeen me in ſome publick place, and taken a liking to my perſon; not being able to comprehend what other motive could make her ſend for a man ſhe was a ſtranger to, in ſo free and extraordinary a manner. I painted her in my own imagination very young and very handſome, and ſet out with moſt pleaſing expectations, to ſee the conqueſt I had made: but when I arrived at the place of aſſignation, I found a little old woman, very dirty, encircled by four or five ſtrange fellows, one of whom had a paper in his hand, which he was reading to her with all the emphaſis of an author.

My coming in obliged him to break off, which put him a good deal out of humour; but the lady, underſtanding who I was, received

ceived me with great ſatisfaction, and told me, ſhe had long had a curioſity to be acquainted with a Mahometan: for you muſt know, ſaid ſhe, that I have applied myſelf particularly to the ſtudy of *theology*, and by profound meditation and enquiry have formed a religion of my own, much better than *the vulgar one* in all reſpects. I never admit anybody to my houſe, who is not diſtinguiſhed from the *common herd of Chriſtians* by ſome extraordinary notion in divinity: all theſe gentlemen are *eminently heretical*, each in a way peculiar to himſelf: they are ſo good to do me the honour of inſtructing me in their ſeveral points of faith, and ſubmit their opinions to my judgement. Thus, Sir, I have compoſed a private ſyſtem, which muſt neceſſarily be perfecter than any, becauſe it is collected out of all; but to compleat it, I want a little of the *Koran*, a book which I have heard ſpoken of mighty handſomely by many learned men of my acquaintance: and I aſſure you, Sir, I ſhould have a very good opinion of Mahomet himſelf, if he were not a little too hard upon the ladies. Be ſo kind therefore to *initiate* me in *your myſteries*, and you ſhall find me very *docile* and very *grateful*.

Madam, replied I in great confuſion, I did not come to England as a *miſſionary*, and was never verſed in *religious diſputation*. But if a Perſian *tale* would entertain you, I could tell you

you one that the Eaſtern ladies are mighty fond of.

A Perſian *tale!* cried ſhe; have you the inſolence to offer me a Perſian *tale!* Really, Sir, I am not uſed to be ſo affronted.

At theſe words, ſhe retired into her cloſet, with her whole train of *metaphyſicians*; and left my friend and me to go away, as unworthy of any further communion with her.

LET-

LETTER LXVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

WOuld'ſt thou know, Mirza, the preſent ſtate of Europe? I will give it thee in a very few words.

There is *one nation* in it, which thinks of nothing but how to *prey* upon the *others*, while the others are entirely taken up with *preying* upon *themſelves*.

There is *one nation* where particulars take a pride in the glory of their country; while in *the others* no glory is conſidered, but that of raiſing or improving a vaſt eſtate.

There is *one nation* which, though able in negociation, puts its principal confidence in *the ſword*; while *the others* truſt wholly to *the pen*, though much leſs capable of uſing it with advantage.

There is *one nation* which invariably purſues *a great plan of general dominion*, while *the others* are purſuing *little intereſts*, through a labyrinth of *changes* and *contradictions*.

What, Mirza, doſt thou think will be the conſequence? Is it not probable that *this*

nation

nation will in the end be lord of all the reſt? It certainly muſt.—One thing only can hinder it, which is, that the fear of falling under that yoke, when the peril appears to be imminent, may raiſe a different ſpirit *in all thoſe nations*, and work out their ſafety from their danger itſelf.

LET-

LETTER LXIX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I WAS the other day in a coffee-houſe, where I found a man declaiming upon the preſent ſtate of Perſia, and ſo warm for the intereſts of Tamas Kouli Kan, our invincible general *, that, if it had not been for his language and dreſs, I ſhould have taken him for a Perſian.

Sir, ſaid I, are you acquainted with Tamas Kouli Kan, that you concern yourſelf thus about him?

No, ſaid he, I was never out of England; but I love the Perſians, for being enemies to the Turks.

What hurt have the Turks done you, anſwered I, that you bear ſuch enmity againſt them?

Sir, replied he, I am afraid they ſhould hurt the *emperor*; whoſe friend I have always declared myſelf.

I enquired of a gentleman that ſat by me, who this FRIEND OF THE EMPEROR might be? and was told that he was a *dancing-maſter* in St. James's-ſtreet.

* By theſe words it appears, that theſe Letters were written before Tamas Kouli Kan uſurped the throne.

For my part (ſaid a young gentleman finely dreſt, that ſtood ſipping a diſh of tea by the fire-ſide) I do not care if Tamas Kouli Kan, and the great Turk, and all the Perſians and emperors in Europe, were at the bottom of the ſea, provided Farinelli be but ſafe.

The indifference of this gentleman ſurprized me more than the importance of the other.

If you are concerned for Farinelli, ſaid a third (who they told me was a chemiſt), perſuade him to take my *drop*; and that will ſecure him from the humidity of the Engliſh air, which may very much prejudice his voice.

Will it not alſo make a *man* of him *again*, ſaid a gentleman to the doctor? After the miracles we have been told it has performed, there is nothing more wanting but *ſuch a cure* to compleat its reputation.

LETTER LXX.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

A Friend of mine was talking to me, ſome days ago, of the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which appeared ſo ſtrongly in the firſt profeſſors of our religion; and, as he pretended, in the prophet himſelf: to that chiefly he aſcribed their mighty conqueſts; and obſerved, that there needed nothing more to render them invincible, ſuch a ſpirit being conſtantly attended with a contempt of pleaſure and of eaſe, of danger and of pain.

If, ſaid he, the enthuſiaſts of this country, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, had been united among themſelves, like the Arabians under Mahomet and his ſucceſſors, I make no doubt but they might have conquered all Europe: but unhappily their enthuſiaſm was directed to different points; ſome were bigots to the church of England, ſome to Calvin, ſome to particular whimſies of their own; one ſett of them ran mad for a republick, others were no leſs out of their wits in the love of monarchy; ſo that, inſtead of making themſelves formidable to their neighbours, they turned the edge of their fury againſt each other, and deſtroyed all peace and order here at home. Yet, as much as

our anceſtors ſuffered then by the wrong direction of their zeal, I wiſh the preſent age may not ſuffer more by the *total want* of it among us. There is ſo cold and lifeleſs an unconcern to every thing but a narrow, private intereſt; we are ſo little in earneſt about religion, virtue, honour, or the good of our country; that, unleſs ſome ſpark of the ancient fire ſhould revive, I am afraid we ſhall jeſt away our liberties, and all that is ſerious to our happineſs. If the great Mr. Hampden had converſed with our modern race of wits, he would have been told, that it was a *ridiculous enthuſiaſm*, to trouble himſelf about a trifling ſum of money, becauſe it was raiſed againſt the privileges of the people; and that he might *get* a thouſand times more than he diſputed for, by a *prudent ſubmiſſion*.

LETTER LXXI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THERE is a new ſcience produced in Europe of late years, entirely unknown to any former age, or to any other part of the world, which is called TREATY LEARNING. I have been let into a general idea of it by a very ingenious friend of mine, who has acquired a conſiderable talent in it having ſerved an apprenticeſhip of twenty years under different maſters in foreign courts, and made, in a political ſenſe, *the tour of Europe.* He tells me, it is a very extenſive ſtudy; for not only *the rights* of every prince, but *their inclinations to the rights of any other*, are therein ſet forth and comprehended. This has branched itſelf out into an infinity of *ſeparate* and *ſecret articles*, *engagements*, *counter-engagements*, *memorials*, *remonſtrances*, *declarations*; all which the learned in this ſcience are required to know perfectly by heart, that they may be ready upon occaſion to apply them, or elude their application, as the intereſt of their maſters ſhall demand.

He ſhewed me ten or twelve volumes lately publiſhed, conſiſting only of the treaties which have been made ſince the beginning of

this century, four or five of which were quite filled with thoſe of England.

Sure, ſaid I, this huge heap of negociations could never have been employed about the buſineſs of this little ſpot of earth for ſo ſmall a ſpace of time as *thirty years!* No—the affairs of all Europe muſt be ſettled in them, *for the next century at leaſt.—For the next ſeſſion of parliament*, anſwered he; *theſe political machines* are ſeldom mounted to go longer than *that period*, without being *taken to pieces*, or *new wound-up*.

But how, ſaid I, could England, which is an iſland, be enough concerned in what paſſes on the continent, to undergo all this labour in adjuſting it?

O, replied he, we grow weary of being confined *within the narrow verge of our own intereſts*; we thought it looked more *conſiderable*, *to expatiate*, and give our talents *room to play*. But this was not the only end of our continual and reſtleſs agitation: it may frequently be the intereſt of a miniſter, if he find things in a calm, to *trouble the waters*, and work up a ſtorm about him; if not to perplex and confound thoſe *above him*, yet to embarraſs and intimidate the *competitors* or *rivals* of his power.

Perhaps too there might be a ſtill deeper motive: theſe engagements are for the moſt part pretty chargeable; and thoſe who are obliged to make them good, complain that they

they are much *the poorer for them*; but it is not ſure, that *thoſe who form them* are ſo too.

As far, ſaid I, as my little obſervation can enable me to judge of theſe affairs, the multiplicity of your treaties is as hurtful as the multiplicity of your laws. In Aſia, *a few plain words* are found ſufficient to ſettle the differences of particulars in a ſtate, or of one ſtate with another. But here you run *into volumes* upon both: and what is the effect of it? Why, after *great trouble* and *great expence*, you are as far from a *deciſion* as before; nay, often more puzzled and confounded. The only diſtinction ſeems to be, that in your law-ſuits, perplexing as they are, there is at laſt *a rule of equity* to reſort to; but in the other diſputes, the laſt appeal is to *the iniquitous rule of force*; and princes treat by the mouths of *their great guns*, which ſoon demoliſh all the *paper* on both ſides, and tear to pieces every *cobweb of negociation*.

LETTER LXXII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

I WAS lately at a tavern with a sett of company very oddly put together: there was a country gentleman, a man of honest principles, but extremely a bigot to his religion, which was that of the church of Rome: there was a lawyer, who was a very good Protestant, moderate to those who differed from him in points of belief, but zealous in the cause of civil liberty; there was a courtier, who seemed not to believe any thing, and to be angry with every body that did.

This last very rudely attacked the faith of the poor country gentleman, and laid open to him the frauds of the Roman priesthood, who, by slow but regular degrees, had erected such a tyranny over the minds and spirits of the people, that nothing was too gross for them to impose, or too arrogant to assume. He set forth the vast difference between a *bishop* in the primitive ages of Christianity, and a *pope*, with a triple crown upon his head, and half the wealth of Christendom in his treasury. He lamented the simplicity of those, who, without looking back to the *original* of things, imagine that

that all is *right* which they find *eſtabliſhed*; and miſtake the *corruptions of a ſyſtem* for the *ſyſtem itſelf*: he inveighed againſt the puſillanimity of others, who, though they *ſee* the corruptions, and *deteſt* them, yet ſuffer them to continue *unreformed*, only becauſe they *have been tolerated ſo long*; as if any *evil* was *leſs dangerous*, by being grown *habitual*.

He concluded by declaiming very eloquently on the uſe and advantage of *free-thinking*, that is, of doubting and examining every article propoſed to our belief, which alone could detect theſe impoſitions, and confound the ill purpoſes of their authors; mixing, in the courſe of his talk, with theſe juſt reflexions, many licentious *witticiſms* againſt what *all religion* and *all philoſophy* have ever accounted ſacred and venerable.

His antagoniſt had little to reply; but intrenched himſelf in the neceſſity of *ſubmitting* to the *authority* of the *church*, and the danger of allowing private *judgement* to call in queſtion *her* deciſions.

The diſpute would have been turned into a quarrel, by the zeal of *one*, and the aſperity of the *other*, had not the lawyer very ſeaſonably interpoſed, who, addreſſing himſelf to the advocate for freedom, deſired to know whether *liberty* in *temporals* was not of importance to mankind, as well as *liberty* in *ſpirituals?* How then comes it, that you, who are ſo warm for the maintenance of *the laſt*, are

are ſo notoriouſly indifferent to the firſt? To what ſhall we aſcribe the mighty difference between your POLITICAL and RELIGIOUS FAITH? and whence is it that the former is ſo *eaſy*, and the latter ſo *intractable?* Can *thoſe* who are thus quick-ſighted in the frauds of *eccleſiaſtical dominion*, ſee no juggling at all in their *civil rulers?* are the *impoſitions* leſs glaring, or more tolerable, which *they* both acquieſce in and ſupport, than thoſe which they ſo violently oppoſe? Let us take the very inſtance you have given. — Is a *pope* more *unlike* to a *chriſtian biſhop*, than a *ſole miniſter* to an *officer of a free ſtate?* if you *look back* to the *original* of things, what traces will you find of *ſuch an office?* in what ancient conſtitution can you diſcover the foundations of *ſuch a power?* is not this a moſt manifeſt corruption, growing out of ten thouſand corruptions, and naturally productive of ten thouſand more? If you ſay, theſe are *myſteries of ſtate*, and therefore *not to be examined*; I am ſure the *myſteries* you attack have yet a better title to your reſpect, and leſs miſchief will attend on their remaining not ſubject to *enquiry*.

Or will you borrow the arguments of your adverſary, and plead the *neceſſity of ſubmiſſion*, and the *danger* of ſetting up *reaſon* againſt *authority?* If ſo, I would only put you in mind, that *all authority flows from reaſon*, and ought to loſe its force in proportion as it deviates from its ſource.

It

It is a jeſt to ſay, that mankind cannot be governed without *theſe impoſitions*; they were governed happily before *theſe* were *invented*, much more happily than they have been ever ſince: as well it may be ſaid, that Chriſtian piety, which was eſtabliſhed in plain-dealing and ſimplicity, muſt be ſupported by the knavery and pageantry introduced in late ages by the church of Rome. But the truth is, that moſt men do in the ſtate juſt what you ſay has been done in the church; they *maintain abuſes by preſcription*, and make the *bad* condition things *are in* an argument for letting them *grow worſe*.

I cannot, ſaid I, debate with the gentleman who has attacked the abuſes of eccleſiaſtical power upon the particular facts he has aſſerted; nor will I wholly deny the concluſions he draws from thoſe facts. But it ſeems to me, that he has often confounded two things intirely different; a juſt regard to religion, without which no ſociety can long ſubſiſt, and a weak attachment to what either folly or knavery may have grafted upon religion, and ſanctified under that name. To diſtinguiſh theſe, is the part of a man of ſenſe, and a good man; but to attack both without any diſtinction, to attack the firſt becauſe of the laſt, is at leaſt as far from true wiſdom as ſuperſtition itſelf. Can a worſe corruption, or a more dreadful diſorder, ariſe in any government, than an open contempt of religion, avowed and profeſſed; a nation where

where *that* prevails, is on the brink of deſtruction. What degree of reſpect or ſubmiſſion is due to particular religious opinions, even to thoſe which are not *eſſential*, I will not take upon me now to diſpute; but this I am ſure of, that a *blind confidence* in *temporal* affairs agrees very ill with *doubt* in *ſpirituals*. A free enquirer into points of ſpeculation ſhould, beyond all others, be aſhamed of a tame compliance in points of action.

The *unthinking* may be paſſive from deluſion, or, at leaſt, from inadvertency; but the *greateſt monſter* and *worſt criminal* in ſociety is a FREE-THINKING SLAVE.

LET-

LETTER LXXIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* ISPAHAN.

From London.

EVERY nation has ſome peculiar excellence, by which it is diſtinguiſhed from its neighbours, and of which without vanity it may boaſt: thus Italy produces the fineſt *ſingers*; England the ſtouteſt *boxers*; Germany the profoundeſt *theologians*; and France is incomparable for its COOKS. This laſt advantage carries the palm from all the reſt; and that nation has great reaſon to be proud of it, as a talent of univerſal currency, and for which all other countries do them homage: on this ſingle perfection depends the pleaſure, the magnificence, the pride, nay the reputation, of every court in Europe; without a good French *cook*, there is no embaſſador can poſſibly do his maſter's buſineſs, no ſecretary of ſtate can hold his office, no man of quality can ſupport his rank and dignity. A friend of mine, who frequently has the honour to dine at the tables of *the great*, for which he pays no higher price than *his vote in parliament*, has ſometimes obliged me with a bill of fare, and (as near as he could) an eſtimate of the charge which theſe genteel entertainments are attended with. I told

him, that their dinners put me in mind of what I had heard about their politicks: they are *artificial*, *unſubſtantial*, and *unwholeſome*, but at the ſame time moſt *ruinouſly expenſive*. Sure, ſaid I, your *great men* muſt have *digeſtions* prodigiouſly ſharp and ſtrong, to carry off ſuch a load of various meats as are ſerved up to them every day! they muſt not only be made with *heads* and *hearts*, but with *ſtomachs*, very *different* from other people!

Not in the leaſt, anſwered he.—They ſeldom touch any of the dainties that are before them: thoſe dainties, like the women in your ſeraglios, are more intended for *ornament* than *uſe*. There is always a plain diſh ſet in a corner, a homely joint of Engliſh beef or mutton, on which the maſter of the feaſt makes his dinner, and two or three choice friends, who are allowed to have a cut with him out of ſpecial grace and favour; while the reſt are languiſhing in vain for ſuch a happineſs, and piddling upon ortolans and truffles.

I have ſeen a poor country gentleman ſit down to one of theſe fine dinners with an extreme diſlike to the French cookery; yet, for fear of being counted unpolite, not daring to refuſe any thing that was offered him, but cramming and ſweating with the ſtruggle between his averſion and civility.

Why then, ſaid I, this continual extravagance? why this number of victims daily ſacrificed

crificed to the dæmon of luxury? how is it worth a man's while to undo himſelf, perhaps to undo his country, that his board may be graced with *patés* of perigord, when his gueſts had rather have the fowl from his barn-door? Your compariſon of the ſeraglio will not hold; for though indeed there is an unneceſſary variety, yet they are not *all* ſerved up to us *together*; we content ourſelves with *one* or *two* of them at a meal, and reſerve the reſt for future entertainments.

I concluded, with repeating to him a ſtory, which is taken out of the annals of our kings.

Schah Abbas, at the beginning of his reign, was more luxurious than became ſo great a prince. One might have judged of the vaſtneſs of his empire, by the variety of diſhes at his table: ſome were ſent him from the Euphrates and Perſian gulph, others from the Oxus and Caſpian ſea. One day, when he gave a dinner to his nobles, Mahomet Ali, keeper of the three tombs, was placed next to the beſt diſh of all the feaſt, out of reſpect for the ſanctity of his office: but inſtead of falling-to, and eating heartily, as *holy men* are wont to do, he fetched a diſmal groan, and fell a weeping. Schah Abbas, ſurprized at his behaviour, deſired him to explain it to the company: he would fain have been excuſed; but the ſophi ordered him, on pain of his diſpleaſure, to acquaint them with the cauſe of his diſorder.

Know

Know then, ſaid he, O monarch of the earth, that, when I ſaw thy table covered in this manner, it brought to my mind a dream, or rather viſion, which was ſent me from the prophet whom I ſerve. On the ſeventh night of the moon Rhamazan, I was ſleeping under the ſhade of the ſacred tombs, when, methought, the holy ravens of the ſanctuary bore me up on their wings into the air, and in a few moments conveyed me to the loweſt heaven, where the meſſenger of God, on whom be peace! was ſitting in his luminous tribunal, to receive petitions from the earth. Around him ſtood an infinite throng of animals, of every ſpecies and quality, which all joined in preferring a complaint againſt thee, Schah Abbas, for deſtroying them wantonly and tyrannically, beyond what any neceſſity could juſtify, or any natural appetite demand.

It was alledged by them, that ten or twelve of them were often murdered, to compoſe one diſh for the niceneſs of thy palate; ſome gave their tongues only, ſome their bowels, ſome their fat, and others their brains or blood. In ſhort, they declared, ſuch conſtant waſte was made of them, that, unleſs a ſtop was put to it in time, they ſhould periſh entirely by thy gluttony. The prophet, hearing this, bent his brows, and ordered ſix vultures to fetch thee alive before him: they inſtantly brought thee to his tribunal, where he commanded thy ſtomach to be opened, and examined whether it was bigger

or

or more capacious than thoſe of other men: when it was found to be juſt of the common ſize, he permitted all the animals to make repriſals on the body of their deſtroyer; but, before one in ten thouſand could get at thee, every particle of it was devoured; ſo ill-proportioned was the offender to the offence.

This ſtory made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſophi, that he would not ſuffer above one diſh of meat to be brought to his table ever after.

LETTER LXXIV.

To IBRAHIM MOLLAC *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

YES, holy Mollac, I am more and more convinced of it; infidelity is certainly attended with a ſpirit of infatuation. The prophet hurts the underſtandings of thoſe who refuſe to receive his holy law; he puniſhes the hardneſs of their hearts, by the depravation of their judgements. How can we otherwiſe account for what I have ſeen ſince my arrival among Chriſtians?

I have ſeen a people, whoſe very being depends on commerce, ſuffer *luxury* and the *heavy load of taxes* to ruin their manufactures at home, and turn the balance againſt them in foreign trade!

I have ſeen them glory in the greatneſs of their wealth, when they are reduced every year to carry on the expences of government by robbing the very *fund* which is to eaſe them of a debt of *fifty millions!*

I have ſeen them *fit out fleets*, *augment* their *forces*, expreſs continual *fears* of an *invaſion*, and ſuffer continual depredations upon their merchants from a contemptible enemy; yet all the while hug themſelves in the notion of being bleſt with a *profound and laſting peace!*

I have ſeen them wrapped up in full ſecurity, upon the flouriſhing ſtate of *publick credit*,

credit, only becauſe they had a *prodigious ſtock of paper*, which now, indeed, they circulate as money; but which the firſt alarm of a calamity may, in an inſtant, make *meer paper* of again!

I have ſeen them conſtantly buſied in *paſſing laws* for the better regulation of their *police*, and never taking any care of their *execution*; loudly declaring the abuſes of their government, and quietly allowing them to encreaſe!

I have ſeen them diſtreſt for *want of hands* to carry on their huſbandry and manufactures; yet permitting thouſands of their people to be deſtroyed, or rendered uſeleſs and hurtful to ſociety, by the abominable uſe of *ſpirituous liquors!*

I have ſeen them make ſuch a *proviſion for their poor*, as would relieve all their wants if well applied; and ſuffer a third part of them to *ſtarve*, from the roguery and riot of thoſe entruſted with the care of them!

But the *greateſt* of all the *wonders* I have ſeen, and which moſt of all proves their *infatuation*, is, that *they profeſs* TO MAINTAIN LIBERTY BY CORRUPTION.

LETTER LXXV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

I Felicitate thee, Mirza, on thy new dignity; I bow myself reverently before thee, not with the heart of a flatterer, but a friend: the favour of thy master shines upon thee: he has raised thee to the right hand of his throne; the treasures of Persia are committed to thy custody: if thou behavest thyself honestly and wisely, I shall think thee much *greater* from thy *advancement*; if otherwise, much *lower* than before. Thou hast undertaken a charge very important to thy prince and to his people; both are equally concerned in thy administration, both have equally a right to thy fidelity. If ever thou shalt separate their interests, if thou shalt set up the one against the other, know, it will end in the ruin of *both*. Do not imagine that thy master will be richer by draining his subjects of their wealth: such *gains* are *irreparable losses*; they may serve a present sordid purpose, but dry up the sources of opulence for futurity.

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I would recommend to thy attention and remembrance, the ſaying of a famous Engliſh *treaſurer* in the happy reign of queen Elizabeth. *I do not love*, ſaid that truly able miniſter, *to ſee the treaſury ſwell like a diſtempered ſpleen, when the other parts of the ſtate are in a conſumption.*—Be it thy care to prevent ſuch a decay; and, to that end, not only ſave the publick all unneceſſary expence, but ſo *digeſt* and *order* what is needful, that *perplexity* may not ſerve to cover *fraud*, nor *incapacity* lurk behind *confuſion*. Rather ſubmit to any difficulty and diſtreſs in the conduct of thy miniſtry, than *anticipate* the revenues of the government without an abſolute neceſſity; for ſuch expedients are a *temporary eaſe*, but a *permanent deſtruction*.

In relieving the people from their taxes, let it alſo be thy glory to relieve them from the infinite number of *tax-gatherers*, which, far worſe than the Turkiſh or Ruſſian armies, have *harraſſed* and *plundered* our poor country.

As thou art the diſtributor of the bounties of the crown, make them the reward of ſervice and merit; not the hire of paraſites and flatterers to thy maſter or *thyſelf*. But, above all, as thou art now a *publick perſon*, elevate thy mind beyond any *private view*; try to enrich the publick before thyſelf; and think leſs of eſtabliſhing thy family at the head of thy country, than of ſetting thy country at the head of Aſia.

If thou canſt ſteadily perſevere in ſuch a conduct, thy prince will want *thee* more than thou doſt *him*: if thou buildeſt thy fortune on *any other baſis*, how high ſoever it may riſe, it will be tottering from the *weakneſs of its foundation*.

He alone is a *miniſter of ſtate*, whoſe ſervices are *neceſſary to the publick*; the reſt are *the creatures of caprice*, and feel *their ſlavery* even *in their power*.

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LETTER LXXVI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

THE virtuous Abdallah is returned to England, after having been abſent fourteen moons. I yeſterday reſtored to him his lovely Zelis, the *wife* whom he had given me at his departure, and whom I had treated like a *ſiſter*. Nothing ever was ſo moving as the ſcene, when I joined their hands again after a ſeparation which they had feared would prove eternal*. The poſſeſſion of the fineſt woman in the world could not give me ſo much pleaſure as this act of humanity and juſtice: I made two people happy, who deſerved it; and am ſecured of the affections of both to the laſt moment of their lives.

When the tranſports of their joy were a little over, Abdallah gave me the following relation of all that had happened to him ſince he left us.

The HISTORY *of* ABDALLAH.

"You know that I ſailed from England with an intent to redeem my father from captivity. As ſoon as I came to Malta, I went and threw myſelf at the feet of the grand maſter, beſeeching him to take the ranſom I had brought, and ſet my father free.

* See p. 272, of this volume.

He anſwered me, that the perſon for whom I ſued was no longer in a condition to be ranſomed, being condemned to die the next day. I was ready to die myſelf at this account; and, deſiring to know his offence, was informed, that, being unable to redeem himſelf, he was put to the oar like a common ſlave, without any regard to his innocence or age: that, during an engagement with a Turkiſh ſhip, he had perſuaded the other ſlaves to quit their oars, and fight againſt the Chriſtians; but that, being overpowered, he was brought to Malta, and condemned to be broke upon the wheel, as an example to the other captives in the gallies: that this dreadful ſentence was to be executed upon him the morning after my arrival, and no ranſom could be accepted for his life.

O Heaven! ſaid I, did I come ſo far to no other purpoſe, but to be witneſs of the death of my wretched father, and a death ſo full of horror! Would the waves of the ſea had ſwallowed me up, before I reached this fatal and accurſed ſhore! O Abderamen! O my father! what avails to thee the piety of thy ſon? how ſhall I bear to take my leave of thee for ever, at our firſt meeting, after an abſence which ſeemed ſo long? Can I ſtand by, and give thee up to torments, when I flattered myſelf that I arrived to bring thee liberty? Alas! my preſence will only aggravate thy ſufferings, and make the bitterneſs of death more inſupportable.

In

In this extremity, I offered the grand maſter, not only to pay down all the ranſom I had promiſed before, but to yield myſelf a voluntary ſlave, and ſerve in the gallies all my life, if Abderamen's might be ſpared.

He ſeemed touched with my propoſal, and inclined to pity me; but was told by a Jeſuit, who was his confeſſor, that an example of ſeverity was neceſſary; and that he ought to pardon my father on no other terms but renouncing Mahometiſm, and being converted immediately to the *church of Rome.*

No, cried I, if *that* is to be the price of a few unhappy years, it is better both of us ſhould periſh than accept them.—But can you, ſaid I to the prieſt, who profeſs an holineſs ſuperior to other men, can you obſtruct the mercy of your prince, and compel him to deſtroy a wretched man, whoſe only crime was the natural love of liberty? is this your way of making converts to your faith, by the terror of racks and wheels, inſtead of reaſon?

My reproaches ſignified nothing but to incenſe him, and I quitted the palace in deſpair. I was going to the priſon, to ſee my father, for the firſt and laſt time, when a Turkiſh ſlave accoſted me, and bad me follow him.—I refuſed to do it; but he aſſured me it was of moment to the life of Abderamen. I followed him, and he led me by a back way to a woman's apartment in the palace.—I continued there till paſt midnight without ſeeing any body, in agitations not to be conceived:

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at laſt there came to me a lady richly dreſſed in the habit of my own country. After looking at me attentively ſome time, O Abdallah! ſaid ſhe, have you forgot Zoraide, the ſiſter of Zelis?

Theſe words ſoon brought her to my remembrance, though I had not ſeen her for many years: I embraced her tenderly, and deſired to hear what fortune had carried her to Malta.

You know, ſaid ſhe, that my family is of the iſland of Cyprus, and that I was married young to a rich merchant of Aleppo. I had by him two children, a ſon and daughter; and lived very happily ſome years, till, my huſband's buſineſs carrying him to Cyprus, I perſuaded him to let me go, and make a viſit to my relations in that iſland. In our paſſage a violent ſtorm aroſe, which drove us weſtward beyond the iſle of Candia; and before we could put into any harbour, a Malteſe pirate attacked us, killed my huſband, and carried me to Malta. My beauty touched the heart of the grand maſter; which is the more ſurprizing, as I took no pains to ſet it off, thinking of nothing but the loſs I had ſuſtained: he bought me of the knight whoſe prize I was; and I thought it ſome comfort in my captivity, that I was delivered from the hands that had been ſtained in my huſband's blood. The paſſion of my new lord was ſo exceſſive, that he uſed me more like a princeſs than a ſlave. He could deny me nothing

nothing I aſked him, and was ſo liberal that he never approached me without a preſent. You ſee the pomp and magnificence in which I live: my wealth is great, and my power in this place ſuperior to any-body's. Hear then, Abdallah, what my friendſhip has done for you; and remember the obligation you have to me. I have employed all my intereſt with my lover to ſave the life of Abderamen: he has conſented to it, and moreover to ſet him free upon the payment of the ranſom you propoſed. But, in recompence for the aid which I have given you, you muſt promiſe to aſſiſt me in an affair that will, probably, be attended with ſome danger. I aſſured her, there was nothing I would not riſque, to do the ſiſter of Zelis any ſervice.

You ſhall know, ſaid ſhe, what it is I require of you, when the time comes to put it in execution; till then, remain at Malta, and wait my orders.

At theſe words, ſhe delivered to me a pardon under the ſeal of the grand maſter, and bid me carry it inſtantly to my father. I was ſo tranſported that I could not ſtay to thank her; I ran, I flew to the priſon of Abderamen, and, ſhewing the order I brought with me to his guards, was admitted to the dungeon where he lay.

The poor old man, expecting nothing but death, and believing I was the officer that came to carry him to the place of execution, fainted away before I had time to diſcover to

him either my perſon or my errand. While he lay in that ſtate of inſenſibility, I unbound his chains, and bore him into the open air, where with a good deal of difficulty he recovered. O my father! ſaid I to him (when I perceived that his ſenſes were returned), do you not know your ſon Abdallah, who is come hither to ſave your life, who has obtained your pardon, and redeemed you from captivity?—The ſurprize of joy that ſeized him in that inſtant, at my ſight and words, was too ſudden and violent for his age and weakneſs to ſupport. He ſtruggled ſome time to make an anſwer; but at laſt, ſtraining me in his arms, and muttering ſome half-formed ſounds, he ſunk down, and expired on my boſom.

When I ſaw that he was dead, I loſt all patience, and covering myſelf with duſt bewailed my folly, in not telling him my good tidings by degrees.

By this time it was broad day; and the whole town, being informed of my affliction, was gathered about me in great crowds. The grand maſter himſelf, taking pity of me, ſent to tell me, that he would permit me to bear away my father's body to Aleppo, and excuſe me the ranſom I had offered, ſince death had delivered him without it. This indulgence comforted me a little; and I would have embarked immediately for the Levant, if I had not been ſtopped by my promiſe to Zoraide. Several days paſſed without my hearing any

news

news of her. I had already hired a ſmall veſſel, and put on board the remains of Abderamen, when, late one night, I was waked out of my ſleep by Zoraide in the habit of a man, who told me, that ſhe was come to claim my promiſe. I aſked what ſhe required me to do? To carry me to Aleppo, anſwered ſhe, that I may ſee my dear children once again, and enrich them with the treaſures which I have gained from the bounty of my lover. Thoſe treaſures are uſeleſs to me without them; in the midſt of all my pomp and outward pleaſure, I am perpetually pining for their loſs; *the mother's heart* is unſatisfied within; nor will it let me enjoy a moment's peace, till I am reſtored to them in my happy native land. As ſhe ſaid this, ſhe ſhewed me ſome bags of gold, and a caſket filled with jewels of great value. I muſt inſiſt, Abdallah, continued ſhe, that you ſet ſail this very night, and take me along with you. The weather is tempeſtuous, but that circumſtance will favour my eſcape; and I had rather venture to periſh in the ſea, than live any longer from my family.

The ſenſe of the obligation I had to her made me conſent to do what ſhe deſired, how perilous ſoever it appeared to me. As I had a permiſſion from the grand maſter to go away as ſoon as I thought fit, I put to ſea that night without any hindrance; and the wind blowing hard off the ſhore, in a little while we were out of ſight of Malta. The

water

water was ſo rough for two or three days, that we thought it impoſſible our barque could weather it out; but at length, the ſtorms abating, we purſued our voyage with a very fair wind, and arrived ſafe in the port of Scanderoon. Zoraide was tranſported with the thought of being ſo near Aleppo and her children; ſhe embraced me in the moſt affectionate manner, and expreſſed a gratitude for the ſervice I had done her far beyond what it deſerved. But how great was her diſappointment and affliction, when we were told by the people of Scanderoon, that the plague was at Aleppo, and had deſtroyed a third part of the inhabitants!

Ah, wretched Zoraide! cried ſhe weeping, where are now all thy hopes of being bleſt in the ſight of thy two children? Perhaps thoſe two children are no more; or, if they ſtill live, it is in hourly expectation of dying with the reſt of their fellow-citizens. Perhaps at this moment they begin to ſicken, and want the care of their mother to tend upon them, when they are abandoned by every other friend.

Thus did ſhe torture herſelf with dreadful apprehenſions, and, often turning her eyes towards Aleppo, gave herſelf up to all the agonies of grief.

I ſaid every thing I could think of to relieve her, but ſhe would not be comforted.

The next morning the ſervants I had put about her came and told me that ſhe was not

to

to be found: they alſo brought me a letter, which informed me, that, not being able to endure the uncertainty ſhe was in about her children, ſhe had ſtolen away by night, and gone to Aleppo to ſhare their danger with them; that, if ſhe and her family eſcaped the ſickneſs, I ſhould hear from her again; but that, if they died, ſhe was reſolved not to ſurvive them. She added, that ſhe had left me a box of diamonds worth two thouſand piſtoles, being a fourth part of the jewels which ſhe had brought from Malta by my aſſiſtance.

You may imagine how deeply I was affected at reading this letter. I reſolved to ſtay at Scanderoon till I had ſome news of her, notwithſtanding my paſſionate deſire to return to Zelis. I had waited five weeks with great impatience, when we received accounts that the infection was ceaſed, and the commerce with Aleppo reſtored again. I immediately went to viſit my native town; but, alas! I had little pleaſure in the ſight of it, after ſo diſmal a calamity. My firſt enquiry was about Zoraide and her children. They carried me to her houſe, where I found her ſon, a youth of ſixteen. When I made myſelf known to him, he fell a weeping, and told me his mother and ſiſter were both dead. I very ſincerely joined with him in his grief, and offered to reſtore to him the jewels ſhe had given me. No, Abdallah, ſaid he, I am rich enough in what I inherit from my father

and

and Zoraide. But theſe riches cannot comfort me for her death, nor any time wear out of my remembrance the uncommon affection which occaſioned it. O, Abdallah! what a mother have I loſt, and what a friend are you deprived of! When ſhe came hither, continued he, from Scanderoon, my ſiſter and I believed we had ſeen a ſpirit: but when we found it was really Zoraide, our hearts melted with tenderneſs and joy. That joy was ſoon over; for, the third day after her arrival at Aleppo, I found myſelf ſeized with the diſtemper. She never quitted my bedſide during my illneſs; and to the care ſhe took of me I owed my life: but it proved fatal to *her* and my poor ſiſter, who both caught the infection by nurſing me; and, having weaker conſtitutions, were not able to ſtruggle with it ſo well. My ſiſter died firſt, and Zoraide quickly followed: when ſhe perceived herſelf juſt expiring, ſhe called me to her, and bad me endeavour to find you out at Scanderoon, and let you know, that ſhe bequeathed to you the portion ſhe had intended for my ſiſter, amounting to five thouſand pieces of gold, as to the man in the world ſhe moſt eſteemed: ſhe added, that to you ſhe recommended me with her lateſt breath, imploring you to take care of me for her ſake, and the ſake of her ſiſter Zelis.

The poor boy was not able to go on with his ſtory any further. I accepted the legacy, and did my utmoſt to diſcharge worthily the truſt

truſt conferred upon me: but my firſt care was, to bury Abderamen with all the pomp that our cuſtoms will admit. After ſome time ſpent in ſettling the affairs of my pupil, and my own, I took a paſſage on board an Engliſh ſhip, and arrived happily in London.

I am now poſſeſt of a fortune that is ſufficient to maintain Zelis in the manner I deſire; and have nothing more to aſk of Heaven but an opportunity of repaying you, O Selim, the friendſhip and goodneſs you have ſhewn me.

LETTER LXXVII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I AM going, in the confidence of friendſhip, to give thee a proof of the weakneſs of human nature, and the unaccountable capriciouſneſs of our paſſions. Since I delivered up Zelis to her huſband, I have not enjoyed a moment's peace. Her beauty, which I ſaw without emotion while ſhe continued *in my power*, now ſhe is *out of it* has fired me to that degree that I have almoſt loſt my reaſon. I cannot bear to ſee her in the poſſeſſion of the man to whom I gave her: if ſhame, if deſpair, did not hinder it, I ſhould aſk him for her again.—In this uneaſineſs and diſorder of my mind, there remains but one part for me to take: I muſt fly from her charms and my own weakneſs; I muſt retire into Perſia, and endeavour, by abſence and different objects, to efface the impreſſions ſhe has made. Alas! what ſhall I find there? a ſeraglio compoſed of beautiful *ſlaves*; the *mercenary proſtitutes*, or *reluctant victims*, to groſs and tyrannical luſt! What *rational commerce* can I hope for with *theſe*, what *true affection*, what *ſolid peace*, what *heart-felt delight?* But, were Zelis my wife, *in*

ſuch a wife I ſhould find the moſt *endeared*, moſt *pleaſing*, moſt *faithful friend*. All the precautions of Eaſtern jealouſy would then be unneceſſary: thoſe wretched precautions, which, while they bar the door againſt diſhonour, ſhut out eſteem, the life of friendſhip; and confidence, the ſoul of love.

Thou wilt be ſurprized at my talking thus: but what I feel for Zelis, and what I have ſeen in England, has overcome my native prejudices: I have ſeen here wives, over whoſe conduct, though perfectly free, *religion*, *honour*, and *love*, are ſtricter guards than legions of eunuchs, or walls of braſs: I have ſeen, by conſequence, *much happier huſbands* than any Perſian can poſſibly be. We will diſcourſe on this ſubject more fully when I am with thee: and it will be my greateſt pleaſure, to try to remove out of thy mind all thoſe prepoſſeſſions of which my own has been cured by my abode in this country. If I bring thee home *truth*, I am ſure thou wilt think that I have travelled to better purpoſe, than if I came back fraught with the gold of Peru, or the diamonds of Golconda.

I have more than compleated the four years ſtay I propoſed making in England; and am now determined to paſs through France as far as Marſeilles, and embark from thence for the Levant, as ſoon as

the buſineſs with which I am charged on the part of ſome of my friends, with the Turkey merchants there, will permit. It is my fixed reſolution to go away without giving Zelis the leaſt intimation of the cauſe of my departure: Abdallah ſhall never know that I I am his *rival*; it would take too much from the character of a *friend*. Thou art the only one to whom I dare confide my folly; and ſince it has hurt nobody but myſelf, I hope, thou wilt rather pity than blame me for it.

LETTER LXXVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Iſpahan.

From London.

I AM juſt on the point of leaving England: Abdallah and Zelis have received my adieus. The combat is paſt; my reſolutions ſtrengthen, and thou mayſt expect ere long to ſee thy friend, with a *mind* a good deal altered by his travels; but a *heart*, which to *thee*, to his *country*, and to his *duty*, is ſtill *the ſame*.

It would be unjuſt and ungrateful in me to quit *this iſland*, without expreſſing a very high eſteem of the *good ſenſe*, *ſincerity*, and *good-nature*, I have found among *the Engliſh*: to theſe qualities I might alſo add *politeneſs*, which certainly they have as good a title to as *any of their neighbours*; but I am afraid that this accompliſhment has been acquired too much at the expence of other virtues more ſolid and eſſential. Of their *induſtry*, their commerce is a proof; and for their *valour*, let their *enemies* declare it. Of their *faults* I will at preſent ſay no more, but that many of them are *newly introduced*, and ſo contrary to the genius of the people, that one would hope they might be eaſily rooted out. They are undoubtedly, all circumſtances conſidered, a very *great*, a very *powerful*, and *happy*

nation; but how long they ſhall *continue ſo*, depends entirely on the *preſervation of their liberty*. To the *conſtitution* of their government alone are attached all theſe bleſſings and advantages: ſhould *that* ever be *depraved* or *corrupted*, they muſt expect to become the moſt *contemptible* and moſt *unhappy* of mankind. For what can ſo much aggravate the wretchedneſs of an oppreſſed and ruined people, as the remembrance of former freedom and proſperity? All the images and traces of their liberty, which it is probable no change will quite deſtroy, muſt be a perpetual reproach and torment to them, for having ſo degenerately parted with *their birth-right*. And, if ſlavery is to be endured, where is the man that would not rather chuſe it under the warm ſun of Agra or Iſpahan, than in the Northern climate of England?

I have therefore taken my leave of my friends here, with this affectionate, well-meant advice, That they ſhould vigilantly *watch over their conſtitution*, and guard it by thoſe ſtrong bulwarks which alone are able to ſecure it, *a firm union of all honeſt men, juſtice upon publick offenders, national and private frugality*.

TWO ESSAYS;

FIRST PUBLISHED IN

COMMON SENSE;

OR,

THE ENGLISHMAN'S JOURNAL.

ESSAY I.

SATURDAY, *April* 9, 1737.

— for his verſe renown'd
That ſung the deeds of heroes, thoſe who fell,
Or thoſe who conquer'd in their country's cauſe
Th'inraptur'd ſoul inſpiring with the thirſt
Of glory won by virtue.

LEONIDAS, L. IV. p. 129.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I AM an old man, retired from the world, partly out of principle, but more I fear from lazineſs; having ſenſe enough to ſee that things go ill, honeſty enough to wiſh they went better, but not ſpirits enough to attempt myſelf to mend them, nor any great hopes from the activity of thoſe who are engaged on one ſide or the other. This temper of mind has thrown me deeply into reading, that I may forget the preſent ſcene as much as poſſible; and, as of all kinds of reading the moſt proper for this purpoſe is poetry, I make that my chief ſtudy, eſpecially

eſpecially Homer, which lies in my hall by the ſide of the Family Bible, and, next to that, is moſt reverenced by myſelf, my wife, and all my children, whom I breed up in the love and honour of it, as extremely conducing to make them good and worthy men. But, that you may not miſtake me, I muſt tell you that this Homer is neither Barnes's nor Clarke's, but Mr. Pope's; for as he makes him ſpeak Engliſh full as well as he does his own tongue, and ſometimes better, I am partial enough to my own country rather to chuſe to read him in a tranſlation, which, of all I ever ſaw in any language, has moſt the ſpirit and grace of an original. After Homer, Virgil and Milton are my favourites; and Taſſo too, though he pleaſes me the leſs, by having borrowed ſo much from the two former, that half his work is little elſe than theirs repeated. But the wiſh of my heart theſe many years has been, that it would pleaſe the Muſes, for my delight and entertainment, to raiſe up a genius who would ſcorn to borrow any thing; but, in the ſpirit of the ancients, without taking their thoughts, produce another original epick poem.

I ſay, Sir, this has been my wiſh; but it was a wiſh not attended with the leaſt degree of hope: on the contrary, from a contempt of my cotemporaries, natural enough to people at my years, I ſhould have been peeviſh with any body that had told me ſuch a thing could poſſibly come to paſs. In this diſpoſition

diſpoſition of mind I was laſt week ſurprized with a new poem, called Leonidas.

I took it up with the ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſions that could be formed by any man againſt it. In the firſt place, I had never heard the author's name: next, they told me, he lived in the city, and was a merchant: then, he was a young man of five and twenty: and laſtly, it conſiſted of nine books, which, at firſt ſight, was enough to ſtartle any very lazy fellow, as I have before confeſſed myſelf to be. And to tell you the truth, I was the leſs diſpoſed to like it, from not having ſeen it before it was in print; for as I take myſelf to be a critick of diſtinction, I was a good deal piqued that the author did not ſend me his manuſcript to peruſe, as other authors have done of no ſmall fame.

All theſe objections created ſuch a prejudice, that I was on the point of returning the Leonidas back again to my bookſeller, without ſo much as having given it the reading; but my wife, who loves a new thing, prevailed upon me to look into it at leaſt, and ſee the turn of it: which I ventured to do, in full perſuaſion that I ſhould lay it by at the end of the firſt book.

The firſt thing that ſurprized me was, to find I could underſtand the language it was writen in, which, for a writer of blank verſe, is a very unuſual condeſcenſion to his readers: but this author has found out, that ſtrength of thought and majeſty of expreſſion may be reconciled

reconciled to purity of diction and grammatical exactneſs, nay to an eaſe and ſimplicity of ſtyle; that hard words and affected phraſes are no more neceſſary in this ſort of metre, than in rhime; and that, if Milton himſelf had been more ſparing of them, he would not indeed have appeared ſo great a ſcholar, and therefore perhaps might have pleaſed the ladies leſs; but he would have been a good deal finer writer, and not have ſpoiled the ſtyle of ſo many of his ſucceſſors, who have choſen to imitate him chiefly in this point.

From underſtanding Leonidas, I quickly came to like it; and the more I read, the more I liked, the more I wondered, the more I found myſelf delighted, animated, moved; ſo that indeed I could neither eat nor ſleep till I had gone through the nine books, and would have given ten times more than they coſt me for nine more.

Since that time I have been ſo full of all the beauties and excellent things I met with in it, that, to give ſome vent, I found it abſolutely neceſſary to write this letter to you, and invite my countrymen, out of the ſincereſt affection that I bear them, to take part with me in the pleaſure of admiring what ſo juſtly deſerves their admiration. And in doing this I have yet a further view: I deſire to do them good as well as pleaſe them; for never yet was an epick poem wrote with ſo noble and ſo uſeful a deſign; the whole

plan

plan and purpoſe of it being to ſhew the ſuperiority of freedom over ſlavery; and how much virtue, publick ſpirit, and the love of liberty, are preferable, both in their nature and effects, to riches, luxury, and the inſolence of power.

This great and inſtructive moral is ſet forth by an action the moſt proper to illuſtrate it of all that ancient or modern hiſtory can afford, enforced by the moſt ſublime ſpirit of poetry, and adorned by all the charms of an active and warm imagination, under the reſtraint of a cool and ſober judgement; and ſuch, I own, is the effect of it on me, that it has got the better of my long habitual indolence, and rouzed me up to ſuch a zeal for publick good, that I could almoſt turn a Spartan at threeſcore. The ſame good influence it may have on others too, eſpecially the younger and more warm part of the world; therefore, I think, the recommending it to the publick, is a duty that we both owe to our country; particularly you, Sir, whoſe recommendation may have weight.

But it has another ſpecial claim to your protection; for I will venture to ſay, there never was an epick poem which had ſo near a relation as this to Common Senſe; the author of it not having allowed himſelf the liberty ſo largely taken by his predeceſſors, of making excurſions beyond the bounds and out of ſight of it, into the airy regions of poetical mythology. There are neither

fighting gods not ſcolding goddeſſes, neither miracles nor enchantments, neither monſters nor giants, in his work; but whatſoever human nature can afford, that is moſt aſtoniſhing, marvellous, and ſublime.

There is indeed a very fine piece of machinery in the eighth book, where Leonidas, in his ſleep, ſees his anceſtor Hercules, who repreſents to him by a prophetick and figurative viſion the future ſucceſs of the war wherein he dies; which was a neceſſary art, to ſhew the reader, as well as the hero himſelf, that the concluſion of the action would be fortunate. But this is ſtill within the rules of Common Senſe; for a Grecian might dream that he ſaw and talked with Hercules; but the abſurdity would be, to ſuppoſe that he did it waking.

I am well aware that this ſobriety of Mr. Glover, in confining the flights of his fancy to the bounds of reaſon and of nature, which appears to me to be the higheſt work of judgement, may be cenſured by ſome criticks, from the rules of Boſſu and Rapin. But I know that thoſe authors have no other foundation for their rules, than the practice of Homer and Virgil in this particular; and I dare appeal to every man of ſenſe, whether or no, even in them, he has not found the mythological part the leaſt agreeable, and in many places really diſguſtful? What Longinus ſays of Homer is as true when applied to Virgil, and other copiers of both, that they have debaſed

baſed their gods into men, and ſomething worſe; for I do not believe there ever was a ſett of kings at one time together in the world, who made ſo ill and ſo capricious a uſe of their abſolute power over mortals, as the ſett of divinities deſcribed by thoſe two poets, through the whole courſe of the Iliad and Æneid. Yet it may be ſaid, in excuſe of thoſe abſurdities, that they wrote thus at a time when ſuch ſtrange ſtories were the national faith of Greece and Rome, and therefore more eaſily ſwallowed by their readers. But in an age and country free from all ſuch ſuperſtitions, one who ſhould endeavour to bring back their old tales, or ſubſtitute others *as idle* in the room of them, would gain no credit, I am ſure, in any ſenſe—

"Quodcumque oſtendis mihi, ſic incredulus odi."

The truth is, it requires a vaſt genius, and a ſubject itſelf great and ſublime, to be able to do without theſe ſhining follies: the gods and goddeſſes, the enchantments and the miracles, come more in aid of the poet than the hero; and to them he is obliged to have recourſe when he is diſtreſſed for want of matter or invention. But to Mr. Glover their aſſiſtance is not neceſſary; his force is equal to the hardeſt undertaking, and his hero ſuperior to the gods of other poets.

Another objection that may poſſibly be made to him is, that his ſubject is not relative to England. Sir, the defence of a free ſtate againſt

againſt oppreſſions is a ſubject as intereſting to us, and which this country ought to take as warm a part in, as any antiquated ſtory that can be found in Geoffry of Monmouth, or Roger Hoveden's Saxon Annals. And ſince the Conqueſt, I know but of two reigns which can furniſh actions great enough for epick poetry, thoſe of Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth: but unfortunately the exploits of theſe two kings were directly contrary to the intereſts of England; and would have undone us, if we had not loſt again all that their victories gained for us in France, ſince we muſt ſoon have become a province to it: whereas the valour of Leonidas ſecured the independency of Greece, and made it ſuperior to Perſia ever after.

Any later ſubject (as our civil wars for inſtance) would have been liable to a capital objection, which I am very glad Mr. Glover has had the prudence entirely to avoid, *viz.* the imputation of writing for a party. But, as he has gone ſo far as Greece to find a ſtory which will not bear the leaſt ſuſpicion of a parallel to any circumſtance or character of theſe times, I hope all parties will be unanimous in giving his performance the praiſe that it deſerves; ſince none can ſay that he meant it againſt them, unleſs by declaring that they are againſt liberty; to inſpire a general love of which, is the ſole aim and intention of this poem.

The

The other faults that I foreſee will be found with it, are rather objections to epick poetry itſelf, than particular to the merits of Leonidas. One fine gentleman will ſay, that he hates battles; another will declare his averſion to blank verſe; a third will proteſt that he cannot read ſuch damned hard names; this fine lady will complain it is too grave; a ſecond will ſwoon at the very notion of a Spartan; and the general topick will be, that it is too long. But all theſe pretty little criticiſms will die in a month or two at moſt, and all the pretty little criticks will become violent admirers of this book they don't know how, as they are now violent foes to it they don't know why.

I make no doubt, but by far the greater part of the female world will be early on its ſide; for their juſt and natural taſte, unſpoiled by pedantry, gives them as quick a reliſh of what is excellent in poetry, as moſt of us can boaſt with all our learning: and the ſex is ſhewn to ſuch very great advantage in the two amiable characters of Ariana and the queen of Lacedæmon, that, conſidering how ill they have all been uſed by Virgil, who has not drawn one good woman in his poem; this alone ſhould make them fond of Mr. Glover, were there any need to excite their partiality.

It is impoſſible, within the bounds of this ſhort paper, for me to point out the beauties of a work, which has ſo many, and of ſo

different a nature. I will only ſay in general, that the fire which enlivens every part of it, would be enough to atone for many faults and errors; but that it ſeems to me to be as equal and correct, as it is ſpirited, affecting, and ſublime.

And it has this peculiar merit to recommend it, that, though it has quite the air of an ancient epick poem, there is not ſo much as a ſingle ſimile in it that is borrowed from any of the ancients: and yet, I believe, there is hardly any poem that has ſuch a variety of beautiful compariſons; ſo juſt a confidence had the author in the extent and rich abundance of his own imagination.

The artful conduct of the principal deſign; the ſkill in connecting and adapting every epiſode to the carrying on and ſerving that deſign; the variety of characters, the great care to keep them, and diſtinguiſh each from the other by a propriety of ſentiment and thought; all theſe are excellences which the beſt judges of poetry will be particularly pleaſed with in Leonidas. I muſt obſerve too, that even thoſe who are not naturally fond of poetry, or any work of fancy, will find in this ſo much ſolidity of reaſon, ſuch good ſenſe, weight of thought, and depth of learning; will ſee every virtue, publick or private, ſo agreeably and forcibly inculcated; that they may read it with delight and with inſtruction, though they have no reliſh for the graces of the verſe, the harmony

of the numbers, or the charms of the invention.

Upon the whole, Sir, I look upon this poem as one of thoſe few of diſtinguiſhed worth and excellence, which will be handed down with reſpect to all poſterity, and which, in the long revolution of paſt centuries, but two or three countries have been able to produce. And I cannot help congratulating my own, that, after having in the laſt age brought forth a Milton, ſhe has in this produced two more ſuch poets, as we have the happineſs to ſee flouriſh now together; I mean, Mr. Pope and Mr. Glover. The firſt of theſe has no ſuperior, if an equal, in all the various parts of poetry to which his elegant and extenſive genius has applied itſelf, no, not among the greateſt of the ancients. But an epick poem he has not yet given, of his own I mean, diſtinct from his tranſlations. And certainly, Sir, in that ſpecies of writing, it is enough to have given Homer to us, with a force of ſtyle not inferior to his own: the bounds of human life are too contracted for a ſecond work ſo difficult as this; I might add, perhaps, the bounds of human glory. There was therefore a path left clear for Mr. Glover: and to what a height it has carried him, will appear to all who have eyes good enough to reach ſo far; for your judges of epigrams and ſongs can ſee no further than the bottom of the hill, and both he and Mr. Pope are out of their ſight. But it muſt be owned, that

the latter had made the way much leſs difficult for Mr. Glover to aſcend, by ſmoothing the roughneſs, and rooting up the thorns and briars, which the Engliſh Parnaſſus was encumbered with before; ſo that, if the diction of Leonidas be ſofter, and the general flow of the numbers more harmonious, than that of Milton himſelf, it may, in part, be aſcribed to Mr. Pope, as the great poliſher and improver of our verſe.

I have not the honour to know either of theſe gentlemen; but, as they are both men of great and real merit, I make no doubt they wiſh well to one another; and nothing, I am ſure, can be of ſuch advantage to a riſing genius as the praiſe of Mr. Pope.

ESSAY II.

SATURDAY, *October* 15, 1737.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I HAVE lately enjoyed, with great delight and edification, the agreeable company of a learned Foreign * Prelate, not long ſince arrived here from the Eaſt: who, being only a biſhop *in partibus infidelium*, and by conſequence not obliged to reſidence, and having no hopes of tranſlation by attending the court of his own prince, who is a Muſſulman, is not ſo ſtrict in the performance of thoſe duties, as we have the happineſs to ſee our biſhops here; but entertains himſelf with viewing other courts,

* The Biſhop of Apamea.

particularly thoſe of Aſia and of Africk; where he has paſſed ſome years in making curious obſervations, and of which he gives very wonderful accounts.

As I am a true lover of monarchy, I am infinitely pleaſed with theſe relations of thoſe happy countries where it ſhines in all its ſplendour, far exceeding what our greateſt Grand Monarques in this Northern part of the world can yet pretend to, both in reſpect to outward pomp and real power. But of all theſe glorious ſeats of empire, there is none, the deſcription of which ſo much ſtrikes my imagination, as what he recounts of the court of of that great emperor, Lord of the Mountains of the Moon, and, except one, the higheſt potentate upon earth, the moſt illuſtrious Preſter John of Abyſſinia. I will ſay nothing of his gold nor of his jewels, the great number of his concubines, or any thing elſe that is common to him with other kings: but confine myſelf to one particular piece of ſtate, in which, to my judgement, he much excels them all, not his contemporaries alone, but the moſt famous of antiquity.

The article I mean, is the choice of his guard; ſuch a choice, as denotes his great acuteneſs in judging what may beſt ſerve both to the glory and ſafety of his perſon, the moſt capable to ſtrike an awe into

into his ſubjects, and therefore the propereſt ornament of his court. Not to keep you any longer in ſuſpenſe, I muſt inform you, that on each ſide of the preſence-chamber, at the foot of the throne of his Abyſſinian majeſty, is ranged a band of thirty living lions. They are chained indeed; but, within the length of their chains, as fierce and cruel as in their native foreſts.

What a pitiful figure, in compariſon with this, does the moſt formidable guard make here in Europe! Will the grimmeſt Huſſar in Germany pretend to match his whiſkers with theirs, though ever ſo martial? or any beef-eater here, to meaſure his halbert with the ſharp phangs of theſe bloody eaters of men? How much reſpect and dread muſt ſuch an appearance imprint on all who come nigh that aweful throne! I humbly conceive, that the boldeſt patriot there would not venture to bring a complaint of any grievances before a prince beſet with ſuch a circle; and much leſs could a foreigner ſupport the unaccuſtomed ſight of a ſcene ſo full of terrors.

Let us ſuppoſe an ambaſſador ſent thither from England, (and whither may not our love of negotiating carry us?) to ſettle the balance of Africk, hire troops, or any errand of the like important nature; ſuppoſe him uſed to the ſoft ſcene of a French drawing-room, or at worſt to nothing rougher than

the ſight of an aſſembly of The States-General. What an uneaſy ſenſation would he feel, when introduced to his audience, through the roarings and grinnings of threeſcore lions! how would he fumble with his breeches! how would he heſitate and ſtammer in his ſpeech! how very difficult would he find it to ſuſtain the intrepid character of the prince he repreſented! And indeed the wit of man never invented a more tremendous attendance upon majeſty. Solomon is ſaid to have been the moſt magnificent as well as the wiſeſt king that ever reigned; and yet how ſhort did he fall of Preſter John! for his throne was only guarded with twelve lions, and thoſe but in effigy too; whereas this monarch, wiſely diſdaining a mere fictitious ſhew, has no leſs than threeſcore, all alive, and with claws and teeth that can be uſed upon occaſion, as they that anger him often find to their coſt.

I aſked the biſhop, if the kings of Abyſſinia had been always guarded in this uncommon way. He told me no; that, till about fourſcore years ago, they had no guard but the affections of their people, and had made a ſhift to rub on ſo for many centuries; but that the great grandfather of the king now reigning, who was a prince of extraordinary reach and penetration, bred up two tame lions in his palace, which he ſometimes

placed

placed on each ſide of his throne, where they did no harm to any of his ſubjects, but were conſidered as a piece of regal pomp, which might help to draw the reſpect of foreign nations. It was alſo urged, that the known affection of theſe animals to all thoſe of royal blood, and their natural vigilance (as they never quite cloſe their eyes, even in ſleeping) made them very proper to watch before the throne in a time of danger, as that happened to be.

On theſe pretences, this guard was firſt eſtabliſhed, and was at firſt neither dangerous nor feared; but the number of them was increaſed in every reign, and increaſed by thoſe of the worſt and wildeſt kind, till a complete ſtanding corps of them was formed, to the great diſquiet and terror of the nation.

Then indeed the ſtates of the kingdom took the liberty to remonſtrate againſt this innovation in their government, and humbly beſought the king to reduce his lions. But ſome excuſe was ſtill found to keep them up; and, what was worſe, the people made to feed them. Many a bullock and ſheep are the poor farmers obliged to bring to their inſatiable jaws, and glad when they eſcape ſo; for very frequently they are themſelves ſnapt up by theſe devourers. And as the emperor has many country houſes, where he reſides in

in the different months of the year, there are ſo many different ſetts of lions kept for each of them, which, in the abſence of the court, are quartered in the villages and neighbouring towns, at the charge of the inhabitants.

Nor does the nobility itſelf ſtand leſs in awe of them; for, though they are chained, yet the grand vizir, who is their keeper, lets out their chains, or contracts them, as he pleaſes; and when any nobleman, who is not in his intereſt, preſumes to come to the king without his leave, it is a great chance if he be not torn in pieces before he gets three ſteps beyond the door.

I aſked the biſhop, how his majeſty durſt venture to truſt his lions to any but himſelf; ſince, notwithſtanding their regard for the blood royal, they might, perhaps, be turned againſt him by a miniſter who knew how to manage them, if he found it for his intereſt.

Very true, Sir, ſaid he; and for that reaſon this politick prince, though he leaves his other affairs almoſt entirely to the conduct of his miniſter, takes this province under his own immediate care; for he often reviews them with particular attention, fills up vacancies himſelf with proper beaſts, ſees that they are all of the ſame ſize and the ſame colour; that they whiſk their tails, ſhake their manes, and roar in concert; which they

they certainly do, beyond any beaſts in Africk. In one word, he knows his lions, and is known to them; ſo that, if under him the vizir has any influence, it cannot be attended with any danger to the crown. And it is ſure that they cannot be better managed; for, as fierce and ſavage as they are to other men, they are ſo obedient to him and his miniſter, that I have ſeen them, more than once, lick both their br—es, and fawn upon them as if they had been ſo many ſpaniels. Nay, I heard the preſent vizir declare in publick, That, if any of them durſt preſume to groul at him, or ſo much as look like lions in his preſence, he would have them turned out of court with a good whipping, and ſent to ſtarve in the woods from whence they came.

Nevertheleſs, added the biſhop, it is the opionion of many people of good ſenſe in Abyſſinia, that the vizir is over-confident of his power; and that, as ſecure as he thinks himſelf amongſt them, he had beſt not *put his head into their mouths*.

I ſuppoſe, ſaid I, he takes care that the chains with which he holds theſe beaſts are very ſtrong. O! yes, replied he, they are all of *beaten gold*; and when any prove more unruly than the reſt, no expence is ſpared to *double their chains*, after which they become as gentle as lambs—to their keeper, I mean: for it is obſervable of theſe creatures, that the more

more tame they are to him, the more miſchievous and rampant they are to every body elſe.

I have heard, ſaid I, that the lions of this country are naturally ſome of the ſtouteſt in the world. They have been counted ſo, anſwered he; but few of theſe have ever looked a tiger or a leopard in the face. They came to court errant whelps; and, ſince that time, have only preyed where they met with no reſiſtance; yet ſome among them have good blood in their veins, and would have ſpirit, if they could but break their fetters.

As I always endeavour, out of all I ſee or hear, to draw ſome benefit to this my native country, I have been conſidering how far it might be proper to imitate this African magnificence in England. And though I am againſt bringing lions to our court, as it might be called ſetting up a foreign force, and would therefore be juſtly oppoſed by a Britiſh parliament; yet, I am ſure, no objection can be made to a guard of threeſcore or a hundred Engliſh *maſtives*; which, if conſtantly tied up, would be as fierce, and no leſs watchful, or loving to their maſter. I prefer them to bull-dogs, becauſe they look more terrible; and in theſe matters *ſhew* is a great article.

Certain

Certain I am, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to add ſome new terrors to thoſe now about the throne, when the factious party is become ſo bold and inſolent as to treat the gentlemen who ſerve it with contempt.

It is in vain to paſs penal laws, and acts reſtrictive of the liberty of the Stage, or of the Preſs. This ſtubborn ſpirit will never be ſuppreſſed, but by throwing thoſe poſſeſſed with it to the dogs.

END OF VOL. I.